

E \$1.50

McLaughlin wonders about
agan's '84 Campaign
—see page 800

Vol. 35 No. 13

JULY 8, 1983

NATIONAL REVIEW

OH, SAY
CAN YOU

SEE?

**-Private
Property
and the
American
Idea**

DOUGLASS C. NORTH



**Margaret Is Our
Darling**

Anthony Lejeune

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HOW MUCH IS TOO MUCH TO DRINK IF YOU'RE DRIVING?

USING THIS CHART MAY HELP YOU KNOW YOUR LIMIT.

First, you should understand that drinking any amount of alcohol can impair your ability to drive.

The generally accepted way to measure intoxication is by your Blood Alcohol Concentration (BAC). In most areas, the legal definition of intoxication is .10 percent BAC and above. However, long before you reach .10 BAC, your judgment and motor skills deteriorate rapidly. In fact, some states include the definition of impaired driving ability, which usually begins at .05 percent.

Important factors to keep in mind are how much you've drunk in a given period of time, how much you weigh and whether you've been eating. Your age, individual metabolism and experience with drinking are also factors. However, it simply is not true that beer or wine is less likely to make you drunk than so-called "hard" drinks. A 6-ounce glass of wine, a 12-ounce can of beer or 1½ ounces of 86-proof whiskey have about the same amount of alcohol and will have about the same effect on you.

How to estimate your Blood Alcohol Concentration. Although the effects of alcohol vary a great deal, the average effects are shown in the accompanying chart prepared by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Find your weight in the left-hand column and then refer to the number of drinks you have had or intend to have over a two-hour period. For example, if you weigh 160 pounds and have had four beers over the first two hours you're drinking, your Blood Alcohol Concentration would be dangerously beyond .05 percent, and your driving ability would be seriously impaired—a dangerous driving situation. Six beers in the same period would give you a BAC of over .10 percent—the level generally accepted as proof of intoxication.

It is easier to get drunk than it is to get sober. The effects of drinking do taper off as the alcohol passes through your body, but the drop is slow. In the example above, the person who had six beers would still have significant traces of alcohol in his blood six hours later.

have any doubts, don't drive.

Even if you're not drinking, other drivers may be. Your best protection is still the seat belts in your car. Accidents do happen, and wearing lap and shoulder belts doubles your chances of coming through one alive.

DRINKS (TWO-HOUR PERIOD)												
Weight	• 1½ ozs. 86° Liquor or 12 ozs. Beer											
100	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
120	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
140	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
160	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
180	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
200	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
220	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
240	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12



BE CAREFUL DRIVING
BAC TO .05%



DRIVING IMPAIRED
.05-.09%



DO NOT DRIVE
.10% & UP

Source: NHTSA

The chart shows average responses. Younger people generally become impaired sooner, while older people have more vision problems at night. Tests show a wide range of responses even for people of the same age and weight. For some people, one drink may be too many.

Having a full stomach will postpone somewhat the effects of alcohol, but it will not keep you from becoming drunk.

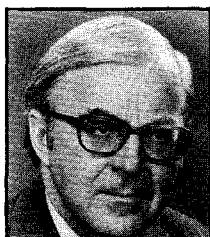
Black coffee, cold showers, or walking around outdoors will do nothing to make you sober. Of course, someone who claims, "I'll be okay as soon as I get behind the wheel," may be making a fatal misjudgment.

At General Motors, we have developed a device which tests a driver's reflexes and motor responses before it allows the car to start. The Department of Transportation is now testing it in California as a deterrent to repeat offenders. Today, you, the driver, have to know your limits and when you've gone beyond them. If you

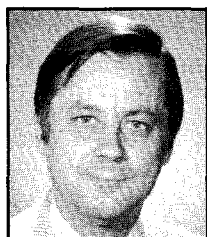
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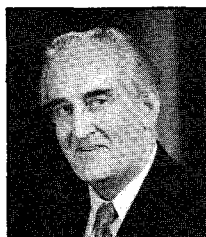
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BETHELL
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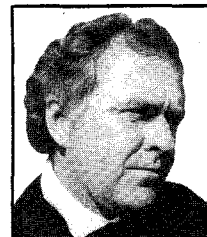
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SOBRAN
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HART
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The Cover

805 Private Property and the American Way

As is our custom, we observe Independence Day with an essay on the American founding. The architects of the Republic were especially concerned to protect private property and promote trade, toward which ends they designed institutions to be proof against factional rapacity. But unforeseen circumstances have since then made it profitable for some interests to invest in tilting government toward their own interests. As a result, the political market threatens to displace the more impersonal and efficient economic market. Despite the many excuses made for the transformation, it is neither rational nor just.

Douglass C. North

813 Margaret Is Our Darling

In a truly critical election, British voters chose wisely. The happy consequence may be not only Mrs. Thatcher's sane policies, but the lifting of the socialist cloud over England for good.

Anthony Lejeune

Articles & Columns

800 Reagan Reflects

What is the President thinking as he looks ahead to 1984?

John McLaughlin

802 Immigration and the Economy

Legal or not, here they come. Should Congress legitimate them? Let's consider the probable results, not just good intentions.

Tom Bethell

804 The Burial of Detente?

The Soviets have two doctrines regarding nuclear war. One is for public consumption; the other is for real.

Brian Crozier

815 Lament for a Ghost of Yesteryear

Remember Imre Nagy? If he were alive, he would certainly remember Yuri Andropov.

Arnold Beichman

818 Unearthing the Villain

Three new "defenders" of the Solidarity movement labor to prove that it was meant to purify, not to abolish, socialism.

Leopold Tyrmand

822 Trouble on Dog Hill

Corruption in Mexico didn't start with López Portillo, but a long national nightmare may lie ahead, and the Mexican people are in an uncharacteristically unforgiving mood.

George Byram Lake

Books Arts & Manners

826 Richard Brookhiser savors the sweet cynicism of Luigi Barzini's *The Europeans*. . . . John Barron's second book on the KGB confirms Joseph Sobran's anti-Communism and pro-Barronism. . . . Joe Mysak enjoys William Manchester's biography of Churchill. . . . George Jackson Eder finds much to object to, starting with the title, in Joan Didion's *Salvador*. . . . Hugh Kenner finds "a mind in exemplary action" in Joseph Sobran's *Single Issues*. . . . Jeffrey Hart salutes a great reporter, Sidney Zion. . . . H. N. Kelley looks at a film about C. S. Lewis. . . . D. Keith Mano reviews a pair of new social diseases.

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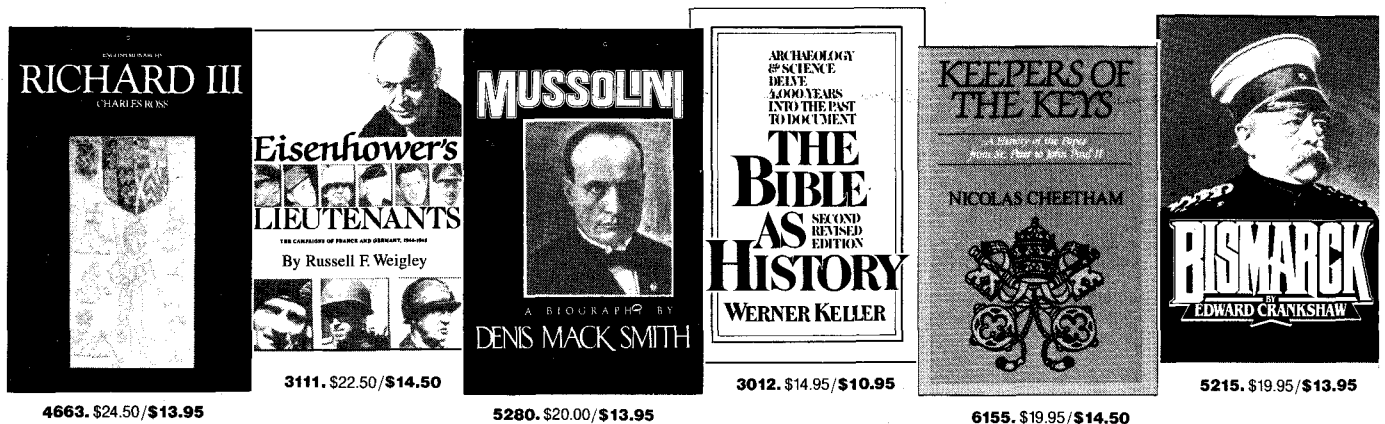
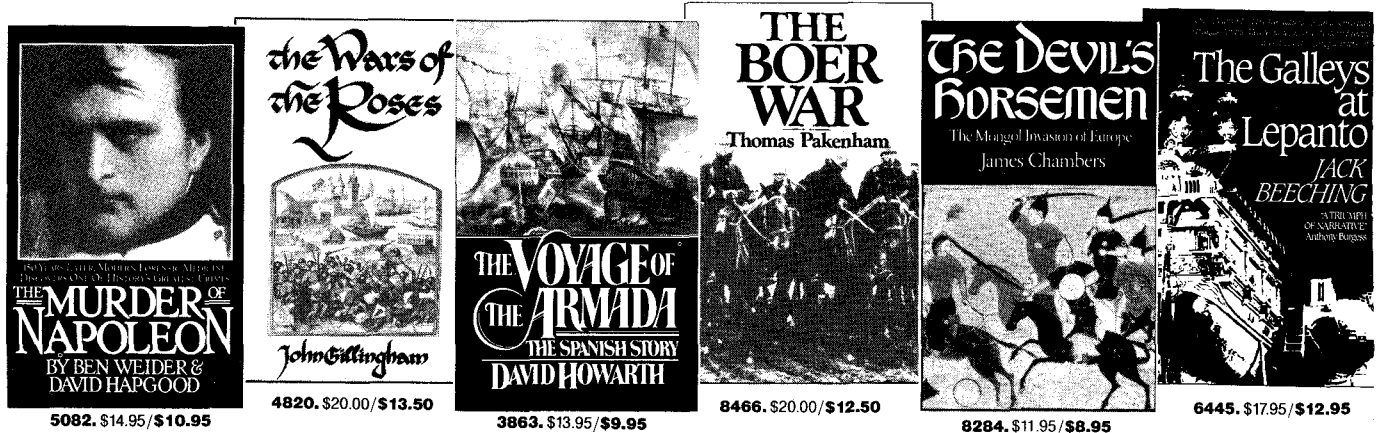
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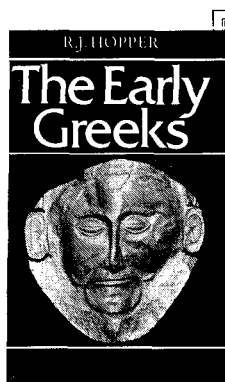
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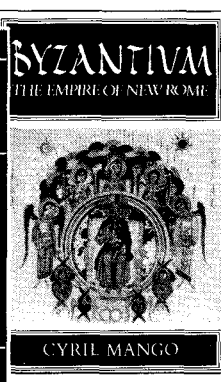
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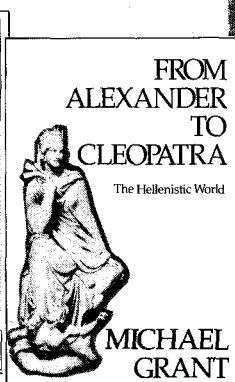
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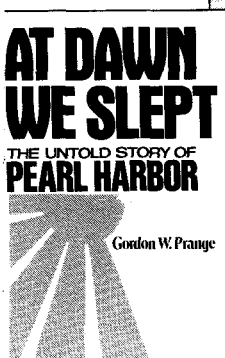
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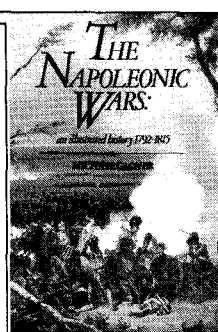
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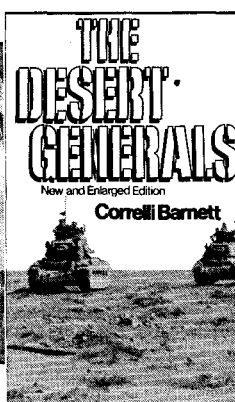
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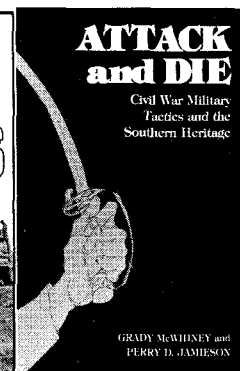
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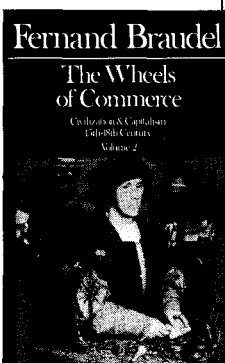
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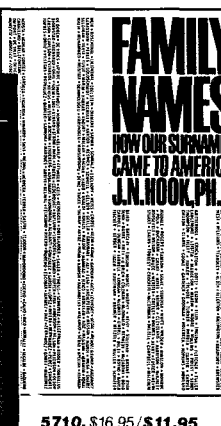
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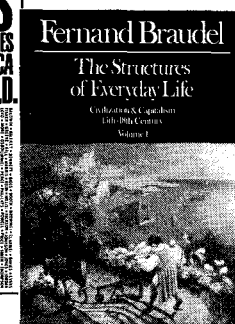
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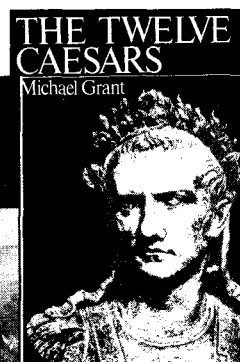
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Letters

Cover Clash

After reading Lincoln Oliphant's article, *Toward a New ERA*? [June 24], I found the cover of the magazine distasteful. I don't mean the art work or the highlighted quote. The editorial comment "Here We Go Again" indicates that the theme of equal rights is a tired, insignificant issue. So why print the article? Mr. Oliphant doesn't agree. By providing his own amendment, Mr. Oliphant tries to present even-handed, constructive criticism of the 1972 ERA, which is being re-introduced into Congress. Why undermine the contents of a magazine with its cover?

Dorothy Klynch
San Francisco, Calif.

Bishops Branding

As much as I was impressed with Michael Novak's "Moral Clarity in the Nuclear Age" [April 1], so I am flabbergasted by his "The Bishops Speak Out" [June 10]. I find it hard to comprehend why *NR* is wasting its precious paper and Michael Novak his considerable talents on focusing on the good points in the American Catholic bishops' pastoral letter. Of course, we can all agree with a few lines in that letter, the same way we give that proverbial broken clock credit for being right at least twice every 24 hours.

As one of the few who have read (or ever will read and study) the complete text of that exceedingly lengthy and pedantic piece of clerical literature, I denounce the bishops' letter as not only theological-ly unsound and pastorally confusing, but, above all, as an unwarranted intervention that is doomed to damage profoundly both church and state in America.

In this respect I fully agree with what Patrick Buchanan wrote in his May 6 column, in the *New York Post*, on "Moral Free-loaders": "In one setting, the American Catholic bishops have squandered much of the deference, respect, and moral authority built up by the Catholic Church in this country for two hundred years."

What haunts me is the question of how long it will take before we Catholics in America will be able to erase the stigma branded upon all our foreheads by the bishops.

Gommar A. De Pauw, JCD
Westbury, N. Y.

Curry Countered

Although it's beyond my depth to submit something to *NR*, someone must demolish the impotent ruminations of Jane Curry in the Letters column [June 10]:

"Mr. Berns criticizes the new pacifists

for using scare tactics to dramatize what they see as the inevitable consequence of the nuclear-arms race—don't conservatives also use fear as a tactic—the fear of Communism and the Gulag?" The difference, dear lady, is that Communism and the Gulag are real, and a clear and present danger to everything humane and decent in civilization. But the "inevitable consequence" is a theory, an hypothesis. The two cannot be compared.

"Many pacifists are striving not for a 'homogeneous' state, in which all people are the same, but rather for one in which each person is different and revered as such." Respect for the dignity and worth of the individual and his rights is the hallmark of democratic capitalism. But there are no inalienable personal rights in a socialist society—at least not after it proceeds on its inexorable course to Communism.

"But at least there might be room for both capitalism and Communism, activism and pacifism." There is room in this country (but not in the USSR) for pacifists only because through the ages there have been activists willing to fight and die to preserve the right of one to be a pacifist. If there are pacifists tomorrow, it will be only because there are activists today with that same willingness to believe that some things are worth fighting for. Freedom does not come cheap: If pacifists had prevailed in the past, we all would be today slaves of Stalinist Communism.

Charles H. Buell
Broomfield, Colo.

Tax Referred

I refer to a letter by Walter Olson that appeared in *NR* ["Letters," June 10], which referred to a letter by James L. Buckley [April 29] that referred, finally, to an editorial, "Can Indexing Be Saved?" [March 4].

In order to set the matter of bracket to rest, I went to the tax tables for 1982—the booklet "1040 Federal Income Tax Forms and Instructions"—and constructed a tabulation. I made a list of interesting taxable incomes from \$5,000 to \$3.8 million and arbitrarily inflated them by 20 per cent, the approximate change in the CPI we experienced in the three years from May 1980 through April 1983. The taxes were taken from the tables for incomes less than \$60,000 and calculated from Schedule Y for the rest. The results are not exactly what one would expect, but the middle income (\$30,000-\$60,000) gets the most (i.e., keeps the least), as originally estimated.

Jack Fay
New York, N. Y.

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Revolutionary Conservatives

After reading Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's "Is Ideology Useless?" [June 10], I realized that the odd thing about developing a "conservative ideology" is that political ideologies must be radical and revolutionary—i.e., anti-conservative—to be effective. I also realized that the odd thing about conservatives in the 1980s is that, thanks to the destructive process of secularization, there is little of a social order left to conserve.

Since America is in need of a new social order, and the growth of Communism must be arrested and reversed, conservatives must develop a revolutionary ideology that can capture the hearts of the American people and inspire movements throughout the world. Only a revolutionary ideology can beat a revolutionary ideology. In short, America must become a revolutionary society if it is to save itself and humanity from totalitarianism.

Bruce Sterling
Staten Island, N.Y.

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn states, and I concur, that we need "a common ideology for our world." We in this country seem to stumble in the darkness, attempting to define the ideology, which we often touch upon, but seldom grasp.

The author also correctly points out that "man, after all, has two drives: one for lust, enjoyment, and ease, the other for sacrifice." The Afghan freedom fighters are not at the vanguard of the struggle against Marxism today because they desire to live life in "lust, enjoyment, and ease"; rather, they struggle because they have not forgotten the commandment of God to be willing to sacrifice the life of this world for the hereafter.

To separate the concept of freedom from the idea of God is to surrender the world to materialistic ideologies. And in each instance of this, man's efforts have ended in failure and tragedy. Thus, America needs an ideology that it can share with the freedom fighters of Afghanistan, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Angola.

Because of our failure to supply that type of leadership, it will come as a great shock that America's role has been co-opted by a small country whose only strength is its spiritual, intellectual, and moral fiber: Libya.

Libya's leader, Muammar el-Qaddafi outlines the roots of conflict today: "Peoples throughout the world are being ruled by manmade laws that are liable to change and abrogation because of the struggle for power between instruments of government."

We in this country dismiss Qaddafi as a surrogate of the Soviet Union. Yet, at a time when it is a commonplace to accept the Soviet Union, Qaddafi has challenged the entire concept of godless Marxism and

has sparked the flame of freedom in the hearts and minds of the Soviet Union's vast Muslim population.

Qaddafi outlines an ideology of freedom based on man's revealed religions in his *Green Book*. Dr. R. J. Rushdoony, a Christian reconstructionist, long associated with the American Right, stated after reading the *Green Book*, "[Qaddafi] says he is a socialist, but his socialism is something very different from what I recognize as socialism; . . . he is strongly in favor of private ownership of any property."

Americans, especially conservatives, who have a serious interest in the advancement of human freedom worldwide, should read Qaddafi's *Green Book*. In it they just might find that "common ideology for our world."

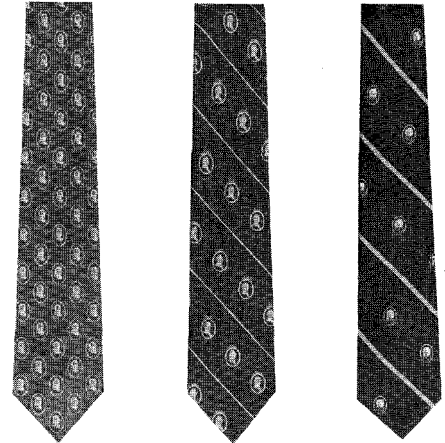
Muhammad Tahir
Washington Representative
Crescent News and Views
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Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn urges conservatives to develop a concrete ideology capable of inspiring the kind of passion Marxism has generated in so many people seeking clear answers to the world's problems. He wants no platitudes about democracy, but a systematic set of beliefs to combat the Communist world.

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By Joe Stilwell

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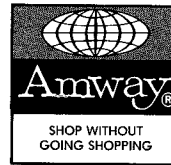
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sat down and concocted the *Communist Manifesto*, a menacing pamphlet that is still very much with us."

In 1958 Louis Kelso, an investment banker and father of the increasingly popular employee stock ownership plans, published *The Capitalist Manifesto* (Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn.), in which he describes how technological advance and our tax laws inadvertently concentrate the ownership of capital—the political and economic consequences of which are "creeping socialism" in its many forms. I find it extremely persuasive and morally, economically, and politically exciting.

Tom Shuford
Roslyn Heights, N.Y.

Silken Speech

After reading Walter Berns's observations on the political and moral obfuscations of "The New Pacifism and World Government" [May 27], I was reminded of a passage from the novel *The Talisman* by Sir Walter Scott.

The scene is King Richard the Lionheart's tent in Palestine. An attempt on the life of King Richard by a stealthy Saracen has just been frustrated by the King's protector, the ever-vigilant Sir Kenneth, Knight of the Couchant Leopard and hero of the novel. The Saracen had succeeded in gaining access to the heavily guarded tent by tricking the king's sentinels into believing he was a half-mad and harmless fool. So after they grow tired of taunting and insulting him, they leave him in what appears to be a drunken stupor and go back to their posts. He slowly creeps to the royal tent and then moves quickly to attack the king. Sir Kenneth springs to the king's aid and disarms the intruder before any harm is done. The would-be assassin is immediately executed (ah, the days of swift and sure justice!) and King Richard makes the following observation: "Danger in our land [England] walks openly, and with his blade drawn, and defies the foe whom he means to assault; but here he challenges you, with a silk glove instead of a steel gaunt-

let, cuts your throat with a feather of a turtledove, stabs you with the tongue of a priest's brooch."

And it will be words of peace and of love, priestly appeals to our common humanity with the enemy, and a turtledove's feather, that men like Jonathan Schell and the unilateralists he inspires will use to cut freedom's throat and banish peace forever.

Arthur P. Casale
Bloomfield, N.J.

Catholics and Communism

Cornel H. Petrassevich's account ["A Papal Audience," May 27] of the persecution of the Rumanian Byzantine Rite Catholic Church bore eloquent testimony to the true nature of the Communist "liberation" of Eastern Europe. Oppression of religious minorities can never be too passionately exposed and denounced, and examples of human courage in the face of brutality are always moving.

For the record, however, it should be noted that the various European Catholic Churches, with a few scattered individual exceptions among clergy and laity, got on remarkably well with the German Nazi and Italian Fascist regimes, blessing their troops and serving as chaplains and soldiers, and signing loyalty oaths and non-interference pledges. No priest was ever defrocked, no layman ever excommunicated for serving in the armed forces of the Axis powers or their puppet states in Eastern Europe even as Jews, gypsies, and Serbs were being gassed and burned by the millions and Jehovah's Witnesses were being tortured and murdered by the thousands.

Noteworthy is the fact that a person may go to Rumania today and attend Mass in a Roman Catholic Church, since that Church is one of a handful of denominations currently allowed to operate because it belongs to the Socialist Unity Front, a propaganda agency of the Rumanian Communist Party.

Darek Barefoot
El Cajon, Calif.

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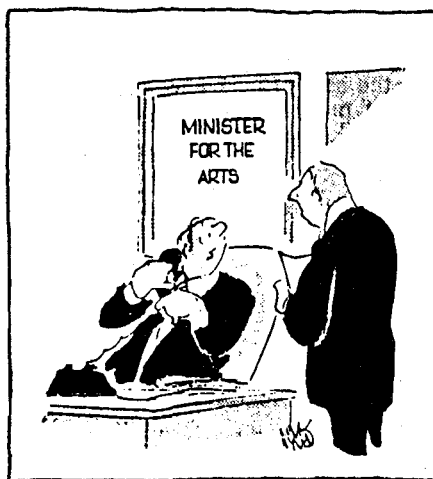
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FOR THE RECORD

■ If it's more than a two-man race in '84, who stands to gain? Everything points to the Republicans. Take **John Anderson**, who's working hard on a program for his still nebulous third party. How will it affect the race? Last week a *Washington Post*/ABC poll found that while both **Mondale** and **Glenn** top **Reagan** (by 5 to 12 points) in two-man standoff, when Anderson is added to equation, Reagan is about even with the Democratic front-runners. Further breakdown shows that Anderson—as of now—would take one out of every eight Democratic votes. . . . In Chicago last week, **Jesse Jackson** got approval in principle, but not in person, of a black candidacy in 1984 from group of black leaders, and estimates are that if he goes all the way, he also will pull up to 8 per cent of the vote from the Democrats. Which is why the NAACP and National Urban League are cool to Jackson's campaign. Says NAACP official **Joe Madison**, Jackson wouldn't be getting the kind of publicity he's been getting if the Democrats hadn't fielded "six of the most undramatic, noncharismatic white men that they could find to run for President of the United States." . . . That same *Washington Post* poll, incidentally, shows Jackson third among Democrats, with 8 per cent, after **Mondale** (42) and **Glenn** (26), and ahead of **Alan Cranston** (7). . . . Why has Sen. **Paul Tsongas** endorsed John Glenn so early in the game? Because, says Tsongas, he doesn't believe any liberal Democrat can beat Ronald Reagan. This has outraged Democratic establishment in Massachusetts which, reportedly, is looking for candidate to put up against Tsongas in next year's Democratic primary. . . . Aching to have a shot at Tsongas is **Ray Shamie**, who kept **Ted Kennedy** to under 60 per cent of the vote in their senatorial race last year. . . . Good news for Fritz Mondale: A



Holland, *London Daily Telegraph* Rothco

"It's the Greek government. They want Melina Mercouri back!"

Darden poll of Southern voters shows that 44 per cent of them don't realize that Mondale was **Jimmy Carter's** Vice President. . . . Bad news for Mondale: Wisconsin Republicans have picked Mondale as the Democrat they would most like to see Reagan run against. . . . Alan Cranston's comment to **Godfrey Sperling** of *Christian Science Monitor* after Wisconsin straw win was: "Fewer people are out to lunch when I ask them to pitch in."

■ Breakdown of latest **Gallup** showing Reagan's approval rating up 9 points over January reveals gains in vulnerable areas. The President is up 11 points with women, 7 with blacks, 18 with union households. . . . Even in Massachusetts, the only state that went for **George McGovern** in '72, he's got a surprising 52 per cent approval rating. That figure came out of a poll taken by Gov. **Mike Dukakis**. . . . Back to the *Washington Post* poll: It finds **George Bush** the preferred candidate of voters (if Reagan doesn't run) with 52 per cent to 25 for **Howard Baker**, 10 for **Robert Dole**, and

7 for **Jack Kemp**. . . . In Washington it's now believed that **F. Clifton White** (with **Bill Rusher** an organizer of Draft **Goldwater** Committee way back then) will play major role in Reagan's 1984 campaign. White, by the way, was guest of Republican National Committee at reception last week in honor of his 65th birthday and his 35 years of service to the party. . . . My how he's grown: The liberal Republican Ripon Society, to no one's surprise, has named Sen. **Robert Dole** its Man of the Year. . . . Newsman **Lou Cannon**, who specializes in Reagania, was asked on **Hodding Carter** show the other night whether he thought Reagan was receiving a fair press. Cannon's reply: "I think he has a fairer press than he deserves."

■ A look abroad: A major reason for worker defections from Labour Party in British election, it develops, was **Margaret Thatcher's** policy of permitting poor people to buy their government-built homes—something Labour had opposed. . . . Now it's two: The Czech Psychiatric Association has quit the world association following the lead of the USSR, which quit before it was fired. . . . Under bad old **Brezhnev** in 1979, 51,000 Soviet Jews were permitted to emigrate; under good new **Andropov** in 1983, 307 have gotten out. . . . Iran, in urgent SOS to UN refugee organizations in Geneva, is asking for tents to house 400,000 Afghan refugees who have joined the 1.1 million already on Iranian soil.

■ Ad in June 1 *Atlanta Constitution* offers \$250 reward for return of two stolen abstract finger paintings: "One painted by former President (then governor) **Jimmy Carter**, and signed by him; one painted by a chimpanzee from Atlanta's Yerkes Primate Center"—presumably unsigned.

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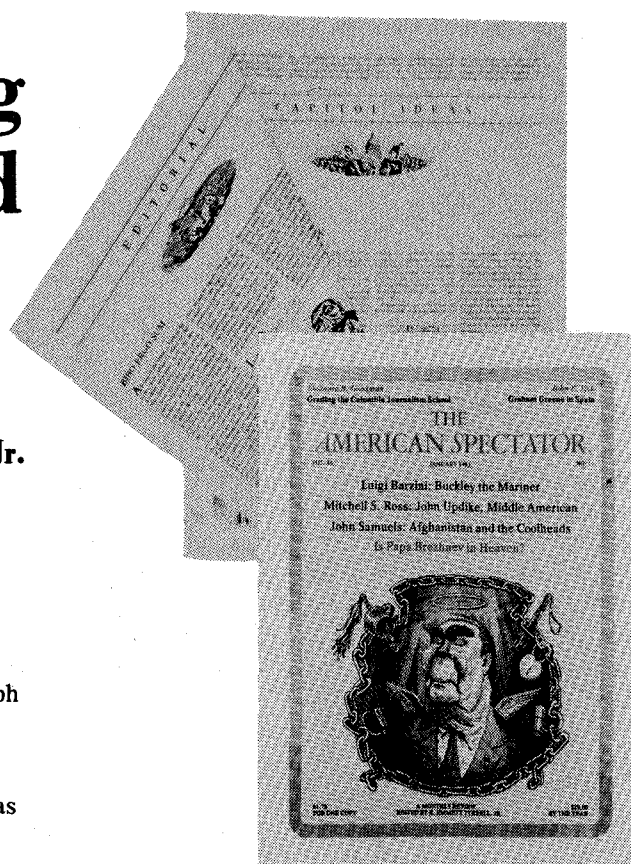
For example, long before the P.R. firm of Reagan, Regan, Kemp, Roth and Stockman stuck the electorate's toe in the hot socket of Supply-Side Economics, the scheme's big daddy, George Gilder, was discussing it in depth in the pages of **The American Spectator**. Long before “Yellow Rain” in Afghanistan and Cambodia hit the front pages and editorial columns, **Spectator** readers were experts on the subject. The liveliest, nastiest debate on Nixon, Kissinger, and the destruction of Cambodia took place in these pages between William Shawcross and Henry Kissinger's chief researcher. And Margaret Thatcher's high male-hormone count was openly discussed long before the Falklands crisis.

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THE WEEK

■ The rumor that Mr. Yuri Andropov is already dead gained credibility during his recent appearances.

■ The reappointment of Paul Volcker as Federal Reserve chairman did not come as a particular surprise. Volcker's stock has been rising for the past six months, a fact that has a great deal to do with mounting concern over possible economic debacles in the Third World. A major threat to U.S. economic recovery could occur if defaults in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, or Nigeria caused severe damage to our exports. Mr. Volcker was thought to possess the expertise and to have the central banking contacts that would enable him to deal with these potential crises. Mr. Reagan, with domestic recovery now well under way, also probably opted for caution and continuity; and an educated guess would be that Mr. Volcker agreed to be cooperative in political terms as the 1984 election approaches.

■ A pair of political scientists have polled the leaders and top staff of 74 public-interest groups such as the ACLU, Common Cause, Congress Watch, Children's Defense Fund, Consumers' Union, and Women's Legal Defense Fund. Ninety per cent of them oppose Moral Majority. Half of them think American institutions need a complete overhaul, preferably in the direction of socialism. More than 80 per cent want Washington to redistribute the national income. In the last four presidential elections, no Republican got more than 4 per cent of their vote. George McGovern, *el dopo leftissimo*, got 96 per cent of their vote. Only 9 per cent of them favor a stronger front against Moscow. Half of them like the pro-Moscow regime in Nicaragua and 34 per cent applaud Fidel Castro. Only 5 per cent give equal support to the American President. The Visigoths are within the gates, and the public interest, which is *salus populi*, would demand that they be run out of town.

■ The Senate voted a couple of days ago to repeal the law it passed last year, providing for withholding of tax on investment income, even before the law was scheduled to go into effect. Thousands of financial institutions had prepared to comply with the now dead statute; one small bank said it had spent \$25,000, a big chunk of its year's income, computerizing in response to the shifting demands of Congress. It's good that a stupid and ultimately self-defeating law is now off the books, but only a fool

would delude himself into thinking that Congress had acted on the merits of the case. Congress felt the rumbling and ongoing power of the tax revolt and did a hasty flip-flop.

■ Did Yuri Andropov arrange the shooting of the Pope? The evidence will probably never be more than circumstantial, but the imminent release of the Italian prosecutor's report, expected to affirm at least a link between the Bulgarian government and Ali Agca, will lead powerfully toward that conclusion. The actual force of the report is hard to predict. But if it settles the widespread suspicion that Andropov called the hit, the worldwide repercussions could be enormous—not least in Latin America, where the Soviet power-grab has been heralded by "liberation theologies" bent on a happy fusion between Communism and Christianity. Should it appear to the world that the heads of the Communist empire tried to murder the head of world Catholicism, the illusion of "dialogue" will be utterly snuffed. And that could be a decisive wild card in the struggle for the Catholic nations of this hemisphere.

■ Strikes and protest demonstrations in Chile again, for the second time in as many months. The opposition has vowed to mount protests every month until Pinochet falls; Pinochet has vowed to remain in office until 1989. It is liable to be a long six years. Straining at a gnat, the *New York Times* (June 19, 1983) hinted at a parallel with Poland, but backed off. "Mr. Seguel [an opposition leader] is no Lech Walesa, and Chile is not Poland." Indeed it is not. A military government is in power in Chile, while in Poland military rule has proven to be but a defensive screen until the real powers—the party elite and its Soviet guarantor—recoup. In Poland, the opposition is so massive and so uncompromising that Jaruzelski and Company would not last thirty minutes if the superpower guarantor disappeared. In Chile the opposition, though growing, is vastly smaller. Pinochet has no superpower guarantor with tanks on his border and troops in his barracks. If he survives, it will be a general measure of his strength and—yes—popular support. No regime that is not outright totalitarian in its methods of control can survive without at least some of the latter. Remember the Shah of Iran.

■ "It's too bad this is such a big deal," Sally Ride told a news conference before her Challenger flight. "It's too bad our society isn't further along." Well, yes and no. Hardly anyone doubts that a woman can master the technical disciplines of spacecraft as well as a man. Ironically, it is only ardent feminists who seem to regard this as a moment of triumph for one gender: Jane and Gloria were there for lift-off. The more pertinent fact is that modern technology has made possible a wide range of specialties that don't

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

The betting here is that Ronald Reagan will get his MX missile through Congress, but not without fancy footwork. Foes of the legislation, like Fred Wertheimer, president of Common Cause, are gearing up to apply all available grass-roots leverage to members of Congress during their July Fourth recess so as to kill the MX procurement when the House argues military funding this summer.

That's problem enough. In addition, Mr. Reagan has got himself embroiled in a hostage situation with the Hill. A favorable MX vote there is being held captive to the Hill's perception of whether the President has shaped up enough on arms control, and whether he is truly earnest about his expressed enthusiasm for the single warhead mobile missile, the Midgetman. (Peacekeeper and Midgetman are our congressional Siamese twins: not one without the other.)

The Hill hedging is cruelly nuanced: We'll give you procurement money, Mr. President, for, say, ten MX flight tests, after which we'll re-evaluate your START movement; or, We'll give you production money for ten missiles, not 27, not one hundred, and then take another look at whether you're making progress on arms control. If you flunk the test, no more money.

Insolence aside, the miscalculation here is egregious. "The Hill seems to think that negotiations with the Soviets proceed on a month-to-month footing," says one ranking Administration official. "In reality, negotiations take many, many months, and changes in negotiations take many months more. If the members are serious in supporting the

President at Geneva, they should stop playing politics on every MX vote. The Russians will have no impetus to be accommodating at the negotiations."

Being hostage to the Hill is one agony, being boxed in by "build-down" is another. Republican Senator William Cohen (Me.) and Democratic Senator Sam Nunn (Ga.) have sponsored a resolution whereby President Reagan is urged to propose to the Soviets a "guaranteed mutual build-down of nuclear forces." Under this concept, each nation retires two existing nuclear warheads for each new warhead deployed. The resolution is co-sponsored by 43 senators, including Chuck Percy, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who with the two sponsors, advanced the proposal to the White House as a sine qua non of their MX support.

In one sense, the President inflicted this build-down wound on himself. After the Scowcroft Commission issued its MX report (in which build-down was not mentioned), Mr. Reagan told Congress that he was "examining" build-down in the light of reductions criteria, a statement that suggested, minimally, a willingness to accept the concept of build-down, if not the precise 2 to 1 formula (which the Administration does not now disavow). What worries Mr. Reagan is that build-down could hurt the U.S. more than the Soviets because of the differing missile-modernization schedules of the two superpowers. The USSR has modernized already so it has much less need to do so now. If the Soviets choose not to introduce new missiles (modernize), they would still be in good shape and under no requirement to discard old weapons. Our ongoing modernization, on the other hand,

is essential, and with each new missile that comes on line, two "old" missiles would be forced into retirement, widening the gap between our capabilities and theirs.

The Hill assumption is that the Minuteman would be the victim. So, when we deploy the expected new one hundred MX missiles (the number suggested by the Scowcroft Commission) with their one thousand warheads, we would have to scratch two thousand Minuteman warheads, basically the entire Minuteman force. In doing so, we would then have reduced the aim points (points in the U.S. at which the Soviets aim) to one hundred, instead of the earlier one thousand. Capisci?

All of which runs directly counter to the Scowcroft Commission's central logic, namely to make the targets less lucrative so that the other side will have less incentive to attack. In a nutshell, the build-down hypothesis forces us to a smaller number of more lucrative targets—one hundred MX missiles with ten warheads each rather than the one thousand Minuteman missile spread—thus flying in the face of the Scowcroft wisdom.

Build-down would complicate, if not paralyze, the Geneva talks. "With Congress trying to shoehorn these picky refinements into the act, the whole deal will collapse," says one influential Administration official.

Besides the practical insolubles in build-down, there is also the constitutional question of whether Congress's "advise and consent" prerogative should be extended to include "coerce" the President. Isn't that what is really happening if Congress so rations its MX support?

—CATO

depend on masculine musculature for their execution, but on trained intelligence. Miss Ride is in space because our society is as far along as it is, and her achievement is not a feminist triumph but an American one.

■ Wasn't it only last year that the Soviet Union was presided over by an ailing old man, around whom a silent struggle for power was being waged? Wasn't the Andropov succession expected to end all that? The back-to-back sessions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet in mid-June seem to indicate that little has changed in Mother Russia. Andropov assumed the presidency, acquiring all the titles Brezhnev had had, but he appeared at the

gathering almost as feeble as his predecessor. At 68, he may not last long. Already signs of the next struggle can be seen. Particularly interesting was the move of Leningrad's powerful party boss Grigory Romanov to Moscow, where he became a secretary of the Central Committee. This makes him a prime contender in the ceaseless shuffling for power. Can it be that Russia will be ruled once more by a Romanov?

■ Back in 1982, the *Washington Post* tried to sandbag NCPAC over its performance in the off-year elections, claiming NCPAC had flopped. The trouble is that the *Post* printed six different and contradictory won/lost analyses, and refused to print a rebuttal on this and other inaccuracies. NCPAC is fighting

back. It has a statement from *Post* reporter Paul Taylor: "It seems to me—I don't think I'm speaking out of turn for my institution—you have caught the *Post* in a bit of sloppy reporting . . . It's an embarrassment which we deserve to be skewered for." Beyond this, NCPAC is launching a wider investigation of "sloppy reporting" by the *Washington Post*.

■ State Department officials refused comment today on reports that a recent letter from Soviet dictator Yuri Andropov to President Reagan contains large traces of bee excrement.

■ The *New Yorker* devotes its lead "Talk of the Town" edit to a reflection on why "we know nothing about the war in Afghanistan" when, after all, all the hideous American atrocities in Vietnam were so well advertised. "What is the political program of the rebels? Who are they?" it wonders. We can answer that. Who they are is the Afghan people, not "rebels." Their program is to drive 100,000 Soviet invasion troops out of their country. And "we" are unlikely to find out much more about it unless the world press shows as much zeal exposing Soviet atrocities as it did magnifying ours.

■ The House Select Committee on Aging wants to ban the word "senility" because it, uh, because . . . it . . . snorf . . . uh, whatzat? it, uh . . . ZZZ.

■ The rumor that France has applied for Third World status gains credibility with every new Mitterrand program.

■ A gent in Florida who drove, or rather flew, his car over a drawbridge as it was opening, was, for some reason, tested for sobriety. Indications are that he passed, but he was arrested anyway. Police just don't understand exuberance. Outside Massachusetts, anyway.

John Paul Goes Home

Poles were said to be joking that General Jaruzelski had permitted the Pope to visit only so that, by riding in a motorcade with John Paul, the general could find himself, for once, amid an enthusiastic crowd. If so, he paid dearly for the experience. The Pope boomed out his censure of the Polish repressions while a fidgety Jaruzelski stood beside him. The scene occurred on national television. *Nothing* like this has ever happened in a Communist-ruled country.

Why did the country's rulers permit this? One Polish journalist had a ready analysis: "They are stupid," he laughed. Some thought Jaruzelski believed the Pope's visit would help legitimize the regime. Instead,

John Paul showed the world a model of correct diplomacy vis-à-vis Communism: he was polite, lucid, and uncompromising. He called not only for justice but for specific reforms, including an independent Poland. He spoke with rich sentiment of Polish culture and history. He formally beatified a nineteenth-century nun who had secretly worked to keep the Catholic faith alive under Russian occupation.

It is safe to say that the Kremlin was furious, and it seems a good bet that Jaruzelski will soon be replaced. John Paul may have seen his homeland for the last time. But he has already given it a gift of incalculable consequence by returning to raise his great voice in speaking the truth.

Speaking the truth about Communism—especially to its face—contravenes all the conventional wisdom of recent Western diplomacy, according to which Communism is a "reality" with which we must "learn to live." The Pope's message is that the truth is also a reality, and in fact a greater reality than lies and guns. The millions who heard him speak, oppressed by the East and abandoned by the West, will carry that reality in their hearts. John Paul has created an electrifying and transcendent moment, one that would have seemed impossible only a few years ago—especially to those who are more concerned with what they take to be "reality" than with truth. He has taught us all to imagine a free Poland again, a promise that this too will one day be a reality. And when Poland is free, this visit will remain forever one of its most glorious memories.

Today, Thatcher . . .

Instant commentary following the Thatcher landslide tended to downplay possible political analogies elsewhere, as, shhh, in the United States in 1984. It stressed the absurdity of the Labour leader Michael Foot, the split on the political Left, the Falklands, and so forth, but there really could be no mistake about the meaning of the British election: a stunning and perhaps terminal defeat for the Left as it has recently defined its platform, a defeat foreshadowed by election results elsewhere and very likely foreshadowing others still to come.

In both Germany and Japan, despite furious campaigns by the Left, including street action, and despite nuclear bullying by Moscow, the voters went conservative. In France, Mitterrand's leftist coalition is in deep political trouble and falling apart. The Communist faction has opened a widening split with the government over national security and foreign-policy issues, the economy is a mess, and if the elections were held tomorrow Mitterrand would be on the way out with Foot.

Yes, of course, the British Left was divided in its showdown with Thatcher—but that scarcely qualifies

the magnitude of its catastrophe. The hard-core British Left, which has gained the ascendancy in the Labour Party and in the trade unions, offered the country the distilled axioms of true leftist belief, and these are common with minor variations throughout the Western political Left: anti-nuclear absolutism, pacifism and unilateralism, socialist ownership and central planning, higher taxes, and class envy. It offered, that is, the whole package of cyanide, and the voters declined to swallow it. But even before the voters had a chance to dump it, much of the Left itself had done so, splitting off to form the more common-sensical Social Democratic Party. In the end, its disaster was almost complete. The leader of the Labour radical left, Tony Benn, could not even hold on to his Bristol seat, and 70 per cent of the electorate rejected the leftist program.

The electoral patterns have still to be analyzed in detail, but it is already clear that Mrs. Thatcher achieved a conservative breakthrough among skilled workers and among the smaller entrepreneurs in the high-tech sector. The unskilled percentage of the work force is steadily shrinking, and Labour may be permanently reduced to its constituencies in the northern poverty belt and to eccentric constituencies in Scotland and Wales.

In Western Europe during the past year, and in Japan, the Soviet interest has fared very poorly. The mass anti-nuclear movements did materialize, the street theater did occur, and the wacked-out clergymen had their say. But then there were elections.

The next major test will come in America, in the 1984 elections. The McGovernite Left of the Democratic Party is unilateralist at heart. It will have more power in the convention than in the nation at large. Its current champion seems to be Senator Alan Cranston, who appears to aspire to the role of Michael Foot, a strange ambition. Walter Mondale is losing the "passion" contest for the zealot wing, i.e., he says the correct things, but his eyes do not glitter with that unearthly light.

On the British election, the most memorable comment came from a green-haired punk-style young man hanging around Trafalgar Square. "Better an Iron Lady than those cardboard men," he told a reporter from *Le Matin*.

It's Up to Congress Now

In the Akron abortion case, the Supreme Court had before it an attempt, not to prevent, but to regulate the practice. The Akron ordinance had been written as a model for local legislation nationwide, with an eye to the Court's previous rulings. It required only that the mother wait 24 hours before consummating the deed; that any abortions performed after the twelfth week of pregnancy take place in a hospital,

Pundit Talk

If, as they say, Fritz Mondale
Campaigns as Dewey did,
And if John Glenn, like Romney,
Is due to blow his lid;
If Cranston, like McGovern,
Is simply too bizarre,
Then Reagan's got momentum
Like four-term FDR.

W. H. VON DREELE

rather than in an abortion clinic; and that the abortionist tell his client that her child is "a human life from the moment of conception."

The Akron case came to the Court ten years after *Roe v. Wade*. It hasn't exactly been, as Justice Powell noted in the majority opinion, the Court's most widely respected judgment. "Arguments continue to be made," said Powell, "that we erred in interpreting the Constitution. Nonetheless, the doctrine of *stare decisis* [judicial precedent] is a doctrine that demands respect in a society governed by the rule of law. We respect it today, and reaffirm *Roe v. Wade*." By a 6 to 3 vote, the Court struck the Akron ordinance down.

Never mind that the law, by whose rule Powell wishes society to be governed, is in this case incoherent. The majority's reason for overruling the hospital requirement was that medical technology now permits safe abortions in clinics (safe, that is, for the mother). Hence the requirement to go to a hospital was held to impose an unjustifiable burden. But medical advances have meanwhile enhanced the "viability" of the unborn child—the cornerstone on which the whole rickety trimester scheme of *Roe* rests. In deciding to be bound by scientific fact, the majority in fact decided nothing—except that it likes abortion, which it knew beforehand.

Justice Powell admitted as much in a comment on the dissenting opinion (which was written, incidentally, by Justice O'Connor; and where are the pro-lifers who wanted her head two years ago?): "The effect of the dissent's views would be to drive the performance of many abortions back underground." Maybe. But what does that have to do with interpreting the Constitution?

In one respect, the Court's decision was salutary. It established that the Court stands by abortion on demand; and that, with few exceptions—the Hyde Amendment, for example—the Court will overturn any effort to impinge on it. That leaves a constitutional amendment, or a congressional restriction of the Court's purview, as the only remedies. President Reagan, the nation's most powerful pro-lifer, called on Congress "to make its voice heard."

ERA Strategy: Is There Life After Tsongas?

Rarely is a great cause lost in a single battle; perhaps even more rarely by the bad judgment of a single politician. But if Congress never again proposes the Equal Rights Amendment for ratification by the states, history will probably give the credit to Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts for his attempt several weeks ago to explain the amendment to a Senate subcommittee.

Senator Tsongas lost the battle because he told the truth about the ERA—a truth whose importance Tsongas himself did not seem to understand, but which goes to the heart of the problem with the amendment in its current form. The truth is that very little is known about what the amendment would do.

When Senator Orrin Hatch confronted Tsongas (the principal Senate sponsor of the amendment) with a few of the exhibits in the “parade of horrors” that might ensue if the ERA became part of the Constitution, Tsongas’s response was not to deny the allegations but to express irritation at being asked about them. Asked whether the ERA would make it unconstitutional for states to give preference to war veterans in filling government jobs, principal sponsor Tsongas told Hatch, the Constitution subcommittee chairman, “I do not think that is for you or I to say. I mean, we have what is called the Supreme Court, which is in a position to resolve those particular matters.”

Tsongas was breathtakingly consistent in his answers to questions about how his proposal would change the Constitution. Would the ERA create a constitutional right to state-financed abortions? “That issue would be resolved in the courts.” Would it be unconstitutional to have all-boy and all-girl public schools? “Again you would have this resolved in the courts.” Would single-sex *private* schools and colleges lose their tax exemptions? Although “I happen to feel that there is no inherent problem,” nevertheless, “these issues are going to be decided in the courts.” Tsongas refused even to deny that the ERA would mandate legal discrimination against “sexist” religions such as Roman Catholicism and Orthodox Judaism: “What would happen in that case is they would go to the courts and have it resolved.”

At least as interesting as Tsongas’s performance has been the reaction to it among his fellow pro-ERA partisans. Columnist Ellen Goodman said Tsongas had been “shamefully unprepared.” Activist Eleanor Smeal said he had “sent a shock wave through the women’s movement” by

“playing into Hatch’s hands and misrepresenting the ERA.” A member of Senator Kennedy’s staff reportedly put the matter even more succinctly during the hearing by stage-whispering to a Tsongas staffer, “Get that idiot off the stand.” None of Tsongas’s new critics, however, expressed *substantive* disagreement with any of his particular answers. They were dismayed at the *strategic* error he committed by confirming the principal objection that opponents of the amendment have been raising for years. They propose not to change the amendment so as to blunt the force of this objection, as suggested, for instance, by Lincoln Oliphant (*NR* June 24), but to change their strategy so as to obfuscate it.

The principal evasive action that ERA backers can be expected to take—indeed, it was attempted by Senator Tsongas but will probably work better after some fine-tuning by lawyers and public-relations persons—is the Fourteenth Amendment gambit. The idea is to suggest that the sponsors of a constitutional amendment *never* know how the courts will interpret their proposal. Those who oppose the ERA on the ground that it gives the courts too much power, therefore, must also be against all amendments, especially the Fourteenth Amendment, which gave black Americans constitutional equality and also gave the courts many opportunities to usurp the legislative function. There is a difference, however, between voting for a constitutional amendment knowing that it will breed uncertainty at the margins—or that it may be misinterpreted by future judges as a pretext for results contrary to the intentions of its proponents—and *deliberately* leaving *important* questions to be resolved by the courts. The former is an unavoidable by-product of all lawmaking; the latter is an abdication of the legislative function.



It is also possible that ERA proponents will attempt to provide answers to at least some of the questions raised by Hatch and others. Indeed, Tsongas promised to supplement his answers with a written statement, and it is inconceivable that ERA strategists could allow the proposal to go to the states without a warranty that it absolutely will not result in such politically suicidal consequences as denying the Catholic Church its tax exemption. On other issues, however (such as abortion funding, a cornerstone of the political and litigative program of the feminist movement), ERA strategists may come up with ambiguous answers that suggest one result to the public but leave the opposite result as an option for judges construing the amendment after its ratification.

In any case, statements made between now and final ratification would comprise only part of the legislative history of the Equal Rights Amendment. There is no way to erase Senator Tsongas's remarks from the record. Nor is there any way to divorce the current language from statements made between 1972 and 1983 by many prominent ERA supporters (including constitutional lawyers whose writings cannot be explained away on the ground that they were unprepared) to the effect that it would make sex, like race, a "suspect classification" under the Constitution. If sex discrimination is indeed just as "suspect" as race discrimination, then the courts ought to strike down tax exemptions for sexist religions and single-sex schools, not to mention laws that give John the right to marry Jane but deny the same right to Jill on account of her sex. The point is not that the courts *must* transport all of their race-discrimination holdings into the sex-discrimination area if the ERA is ratified; the point is that they *might* do so without clearly violating the "intentions of the framers" of the current proposal. Only by changing the language of the amendment itself can Congress avoid the obvious implication of the legislative history up to and including the Tsongas debacle, which is that the ERA is *intended* to establish the federal courts as a continuing sexual convention.

Name That Economist

● "It has been usual to think of the accumulated wealth of the world as having been painfully built up out of that voluntary abstinence of individuals from the immediate enjoyment of consumption, which we call Thrift. But it should be obvious that mere abstinence is not enough by itself to build cities or drain fens. . . . It is Enterprise which builds and improves the world's possessions. . . . If Enterprise is afoot, wealth accumulates whatever may be happening to Thrift; and if Enterprise is asleep, wealth decays whatever Thrift may be doing."

● "There is no subtler, no surer means of overturn-

That's the Breaks

Mrs. Thatcher is rampant in Britain.
Mr. Kohl is in solid in Bonn.
Mr. Mitterrand bends like a willow
And will soon sing a song like a swan.
In America, like morning coffee,
The economy's starting to perk,
And the subsequent hissing and puffing
Drive the Democrats nearly berserk.

W. H. VON DREELE

ing the existing basis of society than to debauch the currency. The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction, and does it in a manner which not one man in a million is able to diagnose."

● On *Das Kapital* and Marxism: "An obsolete textbook which I know not only to be scientifically erroneous but without interest or application to the modern world . . . a creed which, preferring the mud to the fish, exalts the boorish proletariat above the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, who, with all their faults, are the quality of life and surely carry the seeds of all human achievement."

This supply-side extoller of enterprise, this eloquent critic of inflation, this fount of aristocratic contempt for Marxism is of course none other than John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), whose centenary is celebrated this month. Nowadays Keynes is mostly venerated by liberals for his theories on unemployment and the business cycle, or, more accurately, for the edifice of "Keynesian" policies and theories that his followers and successors have built up—which are quite another matter.

Milton Friedman, writing in the *Economist*, manages to rescue the memory of the man himself from some of the follies committed in his name. Keynes was the very opposite of doctrinaire: If anything, he was too eager to recast his theories to explain each successive economic trend. He would surely have done so in response to the failure of postwar "Keynesianism." "I have always regarded it as a tragedy—for Britain and the world—that Keynes's life was cut so short," Friedman writes. When Keynes died in 1946 he may well have been headed toward more of a reconciliation with classical "invisible-hand" economic theory. At the time, it was not yet apparent that inflation, rather than unemployment, would become the major postwar problem. Once that had become clear, Keynes would have taken a hard line against inflation. In his pamphlet *How to Pay for the War*, he called inflationary financing of the war "the worst possible solution." America's Keynesians unfortunately did not remember that during Korea and Vietnam.

On the dangers of government planning, we have

Keynes's tribute to Hayek's anti-statist classic, *The Road to Serfdom*: "In my opinion it is a grand book. . . . Morally and philosophically I find myself in agreement with virtually the whole of it; and not only in agreement with it, but in deeply moved agreement." Josef Schumpeter, another great economist born in 1883, wrote that "Lord Keynes's attitude was rather conservative in many respects, especially in matters touching freedom of enterprise." And on the broader issues of culture and veneration for his country's past, wrote one of Keynes's colleagues at the Bretton Woods conference, "he is a true Burkean conservative." Despite all this, his legacy has undeniably passed to the liberals; but all in all, there are parts of the inheritance that they must find it awkward to dispose of.

AIDS and Public Policy

AIDS, a lethal inhibition of the body's immunity system, is causing a spreading anxiety in our urban centers. Half of all AIDS cases have so far occurred in New York City, with San Francisco the runner-up. Experts testify that the number of victims doubles every six months, and project a probable twenty thousand cases within two years. Off the record, scientists are worried that the number of cases may be much larger than these figures indicate, because of the six-months-to-two-years incubation period of the disease.

The cause of AIDS remains unknown, and there is no known cure. The disease is largely confined to homosexuals, though users of drugs via injection, recipients of blood transfusions, and some Haitians have been struck down. (The Haitian category appears to be homosexual-connected, due to some special characteristics of Haitian culture.)

Not surprisingly, something approaching panic is in the air. Police in San Francisco and prison guards in New York have demanded surgical masks and gloves. Dentists worry that AIDS may be transmitted through saliva. There is talk of danger from mosquitoes. Physicians report widespread anxiety among their clients, especially in homosexual neighborhoods.

Since AIDS so far appears to be largely a homosexual affliction, perhaps related to promiscuity, and since we do not have anything approaching complete knowledge of its mode of transmission, questions of public policy inevitably arise. Most "gay rights" proposals demand an end to discrimination on grounds of "sexual orientation." But AIDS appears to discriminate, and it can kill you. Do the anti-discrimination provisions apply to homosexual blood donors? To dental technicians? To food handlers? Do they apply to the actuarial calculations of insurance companies? This sort of list could be endlessly extended.

Until we achieve medical mastery of the AIDS

disease, these are serious questions, and AIDS remains a prominent skeleton at the feast of sexual liberation.

Canadian Conservateur

One day after Margaret Thatcher's triumph, eight candidates for leadership of Canada's Tories addressed a party convention hungry for a similar win. Joe Clark was front-runner, but he was widely seen as neither a conservative nor a winner. His typically wooden speech, which argued in effect that the party stood for nothing but office, sealed his fate. After four ballots, delegates chose Brian Mulroney by a wide margin.

Mulroney has been a major figure in the party for years, but he is an unproved quantity. He has never run for public office, and his ideology is unclear. His winning vote total was based entirely on the losing vote totals the party has had in nearly every federal election for decades, defeats rooted in Tory failure to win seats in French Canada. More than one-third of all parliamentary constituencies have French-speaking majorities; the Liberals routinely win more than 90 per cent of those Ridings (as the parliamentary districts are called). That forces the Tories to sweep English Canada, a daunting and rarely achieved task.

Mulroney was born to a working-class family in the pulp and paper town of Baie Comeau on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. His French is *Quebecois patois*, which makes him a more truly bilingual Canadian than even Trudeau. It is his linguistic skills which make him so attractive to a party that has never had a Quebec leader. The Tories have finally decided to become a truly national party by carrying the battle to the Liberals on their home turf.

Barry Goldwater's Southern breakthrough in 1964 paved the way for later Republican presidential wins by forcing Democrats to fight across the land, not just outside the Solid South. The Southern strategy was ultimately a winning drive. The Tories' strategy is similar: already ahead massively in the polls, all that should be needed in the next election (due with-

Tip O'Neill's World

What would we do without Mr. O'Neill?

How could we win without *him*?

Oh, how he loves to defend the New Deal,

All the way out on a limb.

Taxing and spending are what he does best,

Helping the deficits soar.

Even Fritz Mondale is getting depressed.

Please give the Speaker the floor.

W. H. VON DREELE

in 18 months) is a presence in Quebec to gain an over-all majority.

In choosing Mulroney the Tories also affirmed a new clause in the job description for national leader: complete bilingual ability. Newfoundlander John Crosbie, who ran a strong third, was by far the most attractive and competent contender, but his inability to speak French disqualified him. Crosbie best exemplified the growing conservatism within the party, and drew the warmest response at the convention. Mulroney, the complete political animal, will probably not attempt to arrest, as did Clark, the party's rightward drift. If he talks of conservatism in both French and English the decades-long Liberal regime is doomed.

For the moment, then, however tentatively, here's an optimistic *Vive Mulroney*.

Yellow Journalism

For more than a year, while the *Wall Street Journal* was regularly publishing reports on Soviet use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia, the *New York Times* ignored the story. When the evidence became too blatant to ignore, and the U.S. accused the Soviets of violating international treaties outlawing chemical warfare, the *Times* accused the U.S., not Moscow, of "poisoning" our relationship.

Then, a few weeks ago, when a group of scientists came up with a hypothesis that yellow rain might be caused by bee droppings, the *Times* pounced on the story as a chance to call into question the State Department's entire thesis of Soviet treaty violations.

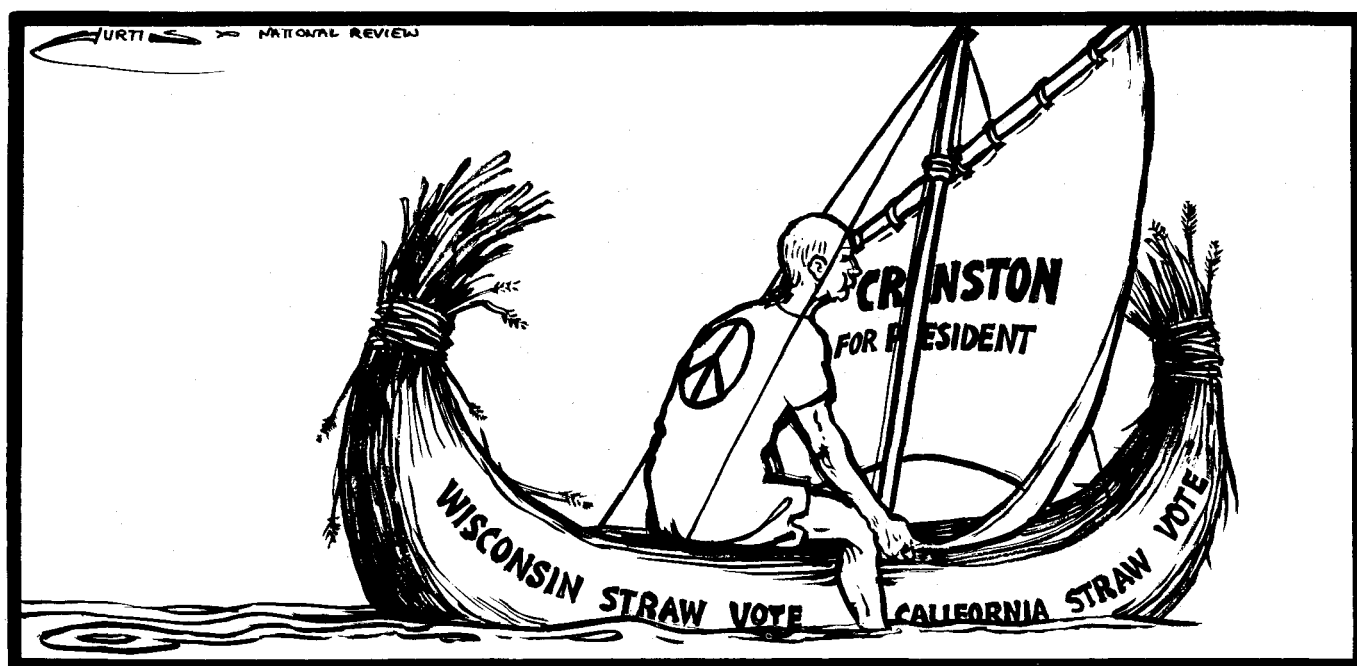
There are three separate strands to keep track of here. 1) Note, as usual, the extreme reluctance of the

Times to believe anything beastly of the Soviets. 2) Note the well-worn gambit of driving a major strategic confrontation into some arcane corner of technical double-talk (the *Times* has called for handing the whole question to a team of "competent, independent experts")—rather like seeking to rest the entire case concerning decades of Soviet subversion and infiltration on the authenticity of one Woodstock typewriter. 3) Keep in mind the things yet to be explained: The known Soviet interest in chemical weapons; the explosion of a secret chemical factory some years ago in the Soviet Union, followed by the deaths of thousands of creatures for miles around; innumerable eyewitness reports; the concentration of the evidence in areas where uncooperative natives are under attack; the presence of Soviet chemical warfare experts in Laos, Cambodia, and Afghanistan; the use of gas masks by Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

What proof, finally, will the *Times* accept? There is a holocaust going on, and it is surely unseemly and possibly disingenuous or even criminal to suspend judgment pending an audit of the books by a certified public accountant.

Sir William Liley, R I P

Sir William Liley has died suddenly at 54, leaving a void in both the medical profession and the right-to-life movement. Dr. Liley pioneered many techniques of diagnosis and treatment for the unborn, and in 1963 set a precedent by giving a baby a transfusion within its mother's womb. He had also a lively sense of the unborn child's individuality, which he communicated eloquently in many popular articles. With the onset of legal abortion his gentle heart



was outraged, not only by the brutality of the practice, but by the reductionism that refused to recognize the presence of *personality* in the early stages of human life. In him science was not merely a technique of control but a form of piety toward creation. He was a great doctor and a very rare man. —MJS

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Quamquam laetor, amice, tuo sermone Latino,
heu! lapsus linguae quattuor esse puto! [NATIONAL
REVIEW, April 1]

"Certum est?" Crede mihi, quater erravisse videris.

Quae impressit quisnam? Num "nihil obstat" erat?
Parva queror? Non est tam clarum scire Latine
quam nescire malum, Tullius ipse tulit.
Ipse ego, si possum, correxi haec vitia; verba
invenies infra tu meliora tua.

Hoc tibi dicendum erat:

"Mr. President, nos non morituri te¹ salutamus.
Non salutamus SALT II.² Non salutamus Tipum³
O'Neill. Non salutamus Fritz Mondale non presiden-
tabilem,⁴ ut⁵ ipse dixit."

¹ Cur *vobis*? In duae personas dux noster abscissus est?
Cur usus es casu dativo vel ablativo? Adhibendus est ac-
cusativus.

² Nos quidem SALT II accipimus cum grano salis.

³ *Tipus* in Tipum mutandus est.

⁴ Estne Fritz ille homo vel res sine anima?

⁵ Nostra lingua "ut ipse dixit" significat "as he himself has
said."

Sincerely,
Michael Kiely
Champaign, Ill.

Dear Mr. Kiely: Aw, come on. I was speaking in frac-
tured Latin, you know, like Cicero, when he had had
a couple. WFB

■ Howard M. Metzenbaum
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Berkeley:

I'm sorry, I mean BUCKLEY!

I just got around to reading the transcript of the
Firing Line show with Mark Green and Mike Kins-
ley and noticed your slip in referring to me as "Kat-
zenbaum."

It's uncertain to me whether you were confusing

me with the junior senator from Kansas or with the
former Attorney General.

No matter to whom you were referring, I'm sure
it was not I. Self-effacing, yes. Lovable, certainly!
But melancholy—never!

Warm personal regards,
Howard Buckelbaum
United States Senator

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I urge you to counsel your staff to allow more
technical mistakes to appear in *NR*. "Preposterous,"
you might exclaim in stentorian tones. "What a ri-
dulous suggestion!" But, Mr. Buckley, don't you
see the merits of the course of action that I propose?
Probably not. (Perhaps I underestimate your prowess
in deductive reasoning.) In any case, I am making
this suggestion because I have thoroughly enjoyed
Mr. Bill Woods's scholarly corrections of such mis-
takes and his witty insights into things germane, and
I am hopeful that, given new opportunities, his ped-
agogics will again appear in the pages of *NR*.

Cordially yours,
Michael J. Harris
Torrence, Calif.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

A great contest. A better movie: Return of the
Oxymoron.

Sincerely,
Eric V. Nehring
Somis, Calif.

I've been dying to know. What is your favorite
oxymoron? Liberal thought? Soviet aid? Balanced-
budget Democrat? My two nominees are: Kennedy
ethics and Harvard conservative.

Sincerely,
Jeffrey M. Lonigan
Albany, N.Y.

Computer literacy.

Sincerely,
William M. Freebern
Department of English
SUNY at Canton, N.Y.

Atonal music. (Just fooling.)

Best,
Terry Teachout
Kansas City, Mo.

May I offer yet another oxymoronism: Jockey
shorts.

Best wishes,
Sue Yotz
Enumclaw, Wash.
—WFB

Strengthening Eximbank

Almost everyone agrees on the need for a strong defense. But in another sphere of international competition—trade—we appear less resolute.

A healthy, expanding export business is crucial to America's prosperity. To sell its products abroad and provide jobs at home, U.S. industry must be able to compete on equal terms with foreign business. In world markets, making a sale often comes down to offering the best financing terms.

Therein lies the importance of the Export-Import Bank, a U.S. government agency that provides financing to foreign customers so they can buy products made in America. It's one of the few government vehicles available to safeguard U.S. industry's international competitiveness.

The Eximbank's charter is up for renewal this year. It needs to be renewed and strengthened.

U.S. economic growth is best served by trade policies based on market forces, not subsidies or protectionism. We should continue working for a negotiated phase-out of export credit subsidies worldwide. Meanwhile, however, Eximbank policy must respond to reality.

Several years ago, the world's government-supported export credit agencies reached a "gentlemen's agreement" on minimum interest rates. But the U.S. has turned out to be the

only "gentleman." Other countries have been offering cut-rate credit on terms far below market conditions. To be competitive, America needs equal clout.

The best defense against trade protectionism is a robust U.S. economy whose industries can succeed in world markets. A strong Eximbank can enhance their ability to compete.

Congress should authorize the Eximbank to:

- Provide competitive financing in all the bank's programs as its priority objective.
- Offer financing packages that include foreign-aid development assistance.
- Offset foreign subsidies to companies exporting into the U.S. domestic market in competition with U.S. manufacturers.
- Extend its activities into the area of trade in services in addition to products.

The stakes are high in the fight for international sales. If we fail to gain a healthy share of the world export market, the consequences will be chronically high levels of unemployment, renewed inflation, a weakened ability to pay for imported energy, and second-class economic status.

U.S. industry and its workers need the support of a strong, financially sound, and competitive Export-Import Bank.



**UNITED
TECHNOLOGIES**

FROM Washington

Reagan Reflects



JOHN McLAUGHLIN Straight

CAMP DAVID. Dear Diary: Well, we made it. Summer of the third year and no slide. Carter, Nixon, Kennedy, and Eisenhower—they all slumped, about seven points each, from January to May of their third years. But not for us, thanks to the blessed recovery. I knew we'd make it. We've gained with practically every polling group during this period—labor, Democrats, even women. July is upon us and politics goes to sleep in Washington and across the nation. What a way to drift into dreamland. I'll surface in September with the Announcement, a second-term Reagan bid.

What an incredible blunder the Democrats have made in choosing San Francisco. Wait till the *Today* show and *Good Morning America* do their backrounders on SF, the Democratic convention city. San Francisco symbolizes just how radical the party has become. Witness Cranston in Wisconsin. Sure, Wisconsin is a liberal state and Cranston worked the environment for three weeks, with a campaign like Gary Hart's for McGovern in '72. John Glenn passes himself off as a moderate, but staff tells me that Glenn's ADA rating is 70, and his AFL-CIO standing is 87—which puts him only nine points behind Cranston. Glenn looks moderate because the McGovern radical wing of the Democratic Party, resembling the Labour Party in Britain, is coming back. Cranston is both the gay-rights candidate and, for all practical purposes, the unilateral nuclear-freeze candidate. He's the Tony Benn—if not the Michael Foot—of the Democratic Party.

We've got to drive it home to the American people that the country has a choice between the liberal John Glenn and the radical Alan Cranston with Fritz falling between the two stools. The center is a vacuum, and Mondale is in a free fall. We conservatives have got to hit this point hard: In order to compete today in the national Democratic Party, you've got to be either a liberal

or a radical. British Tory campaigns have something to show us here, and Maggie did it splendidly. You state the truth about your opponent, bluntly, early, and honestly. Maggie did it to Foot and she did it to Denis Healey, knocking them on their keisters. At some point we need to end up saying that if John Glenn claims that he's not a liberal, either he's trying to deceive the American people or he's trying to deceive himself. Give Nofziger the word on this.

Oh I know that Glenn looks hawkish on defense. But compared to what? To the guys who would disarm unilaterally and sell out Europe in the morning?

MONDALE WILL collapse before spring, as Cranston signaled in Wisconsin. Cranston won because he worked the State and because Fritz is the candidate of the past. The Glenn/Reagan match-up polls show that Glenn is three times stronger than Mondale. So let's plan on a campaign against a Glenn/Southern-moderate ticket supported vigorously by labor and blacks. Plan on a knock-down, drag-out fight.

Hart is attractive, aggressive, energetic. He represents the future. He's reluctant to take risks now, but he'll get over that. We're going to see a Glenn, Cranston, Hart race. Hollings is really running for Vice President, but he won't get it. The Democrats will go for a younger Southerner, maybe Texas Governor Mark White, or Senator Dave Pryor of Arkansas.

Everyone tells me not to take John Anderson seriously. But it seems to me that that depends on the nomination. If the Democrats unravel at their convention, and end up splitting, an Anderson/black vice presidential nominee ticket, running on a strong nuclear freeze and environmental plank, would not be trivial. Yet the polls continue to tell me that Anderson would be lucky to get 2 per cent of the vote.

The black vote in '84, by the way, could be crucial. Glenn will discreetly urge Jesse Jackson to make the run, a move that will cut deeply into the Mondale base, but not hurt Cranston, who is drawing the classic McGovern/Gene McCarthy voters, the activist antiwar far Left. The black vote bothers me more than some of my right-wing advisors think appropriate. We're being perceived as having written off the black vote; not only is such a write-off wrong on merit and inexcusable governance, it's also dumb politics. When you write off the black vote, or appear to write it off, not only do you lose the blacks, but most of the Jewish community, most of the Hispanics, and about half of the moderate whites.

Stay above the battle—that's what they tell me, and I'll do it, but it won't be easy, Celt that I am. I can taste this race. There are three themes that ought to be the core of the campaign: First, *Who should spend your money?* In particular, in every state where Democrats have taken over, they are raising taxes. And Tip, of course, has the tax-tax, spend-spend addiction in spades. Second, *Who will make more jobs?* There is a big jobs program now underway. It's called the Reagan Recovery, and it doesn't cost a dime. In fact, it saves the taxpayers money because it gets people off the unemployment rolls and back to paying taxes. The third theme is, *Who will keep you safe?* The Republican Party and the Reagan/Bush ticket will keep you safe at home from drugs, crime, and ignorance (pulling in the education issue), and safe abroad from terrorism and Communism.

Somebody once said that Washington is a city where, every morning, you've got to make two lists: What's Important and What's Urgent. Then you do the important things first. Why? Because in Washington everybody forgets the important, and only does the urgent. Any Republican administration has one first goal: to create a realigning majority.

If you don't, the Democrats will take apart whatever you have done on the morning after you leave office. Will this be the third time since World War II that we'll have a Republican re-election landslide on the presidential level with no comparable assist to the Senate and House? I wouldn't be surprised. Measured by the re-alignment standard I'm afraid we've flunked. But there's always a second term. . . . □

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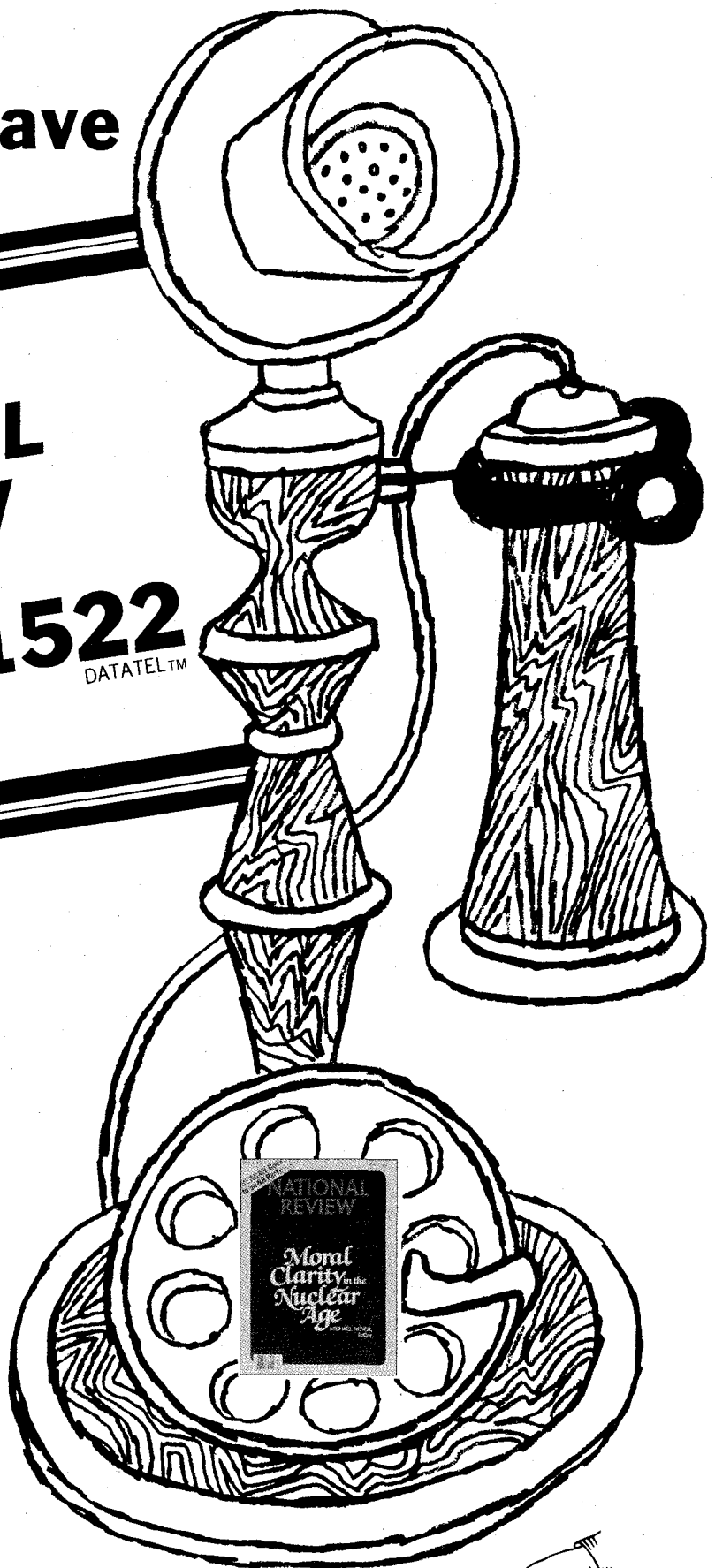
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Immigration and the Economy

TOM BETHELL

THE NEW immigration bill, which is likely to pass Congress shortly, could have serious economic repercussions nationwide. On the other hand, it may have little effect. Everyone agrees that much is at stake, but no one really knows what is going to happen. The division of opinion on immigration does not follow normal ideological fault lines, which explains the unpredictability of legislation. Some conservatives think immigrants take jobs from the rest of us. Others think that immigrants create jobs and become patriotic Americans. Some liberals think that immigrants take things without permission and ignore the National Labor Relations Board. But other liberals don't want to police our borders because that would be racist, anti-minority, and non-compassionate. Lots of liberals would like to legalize all aliens because that would strengthen their bargaining position as employees and put them within reach of social workers and the welfare state.

Today, about half a million legal immigrants come to the U.S. every year. The flow of illegals may be double that, and they may now total 12 million across the land. (There are said to be one million in Los Angeles County alone.) We now take in more immigrants than all other countries in the world combined—perhaps twice as many. In the past decade, immigration both legal and illegal has probably exceeded its peak at the turn of the century.

There is very good evidence that immigrants do not so much take jobs as create them. States with lots of new immigrants tend to be the places where laid-off steelworkers from the Northeast have the best chance of finding jobs. Illegal aliens are good at lubricating an economy because they stay off welfare and slip into all sorts of economic nooks and crannies, sometimes taking two or three part-time jobs. In properly planned, bureaucratically approved economies, this kind of voluntary activity is against the rules and nothing works very well as a result.

Unfortunately, legislators in Washing-

ton think of jobs in a quite different way: as a fixed, pre-existing number of "slots" or pigeonholes (much as the number of *their* jobs is fixed at 535). Next they think of workers competing in a race for these slots (much as they themselves run for election, with only one winner). Alas, as the lawmakers see it, those who are just off the boat from Cuba and Haiti run faster than the natives and fill all those job slots. Result? Unemployment for the rest of us. The solution, according to Senator Chiles of Florida, a state where immigrants have created a boom, is to "turn off the magnet of illegal American jobs."

The new bill sponsored by Senator Simpson of Wyoming and Representative Mazzoli of Kentucky has two main provisions. First, employer sanctions: this is an attempt to solve the alleged problem by making the employers of illegal aliens themselves illegal. (Then they wouldn't dare hire them and native-born Americans would all be back in the job slots.) Second, amnesty: this would make the illegals legal. In short order they would become eligible for welfare, receptive to union organizers, and eager to sign up as Democrats.

ONCE IT becomes law, how will the new bill work out in practice? The House Judiciary Committee watered down the employer-sanctions provision so much that entrepreneurs will not (as was feared) have to take it upon themselves to police the immigration laws. An amendment by Representative Kindness of Ohio made record-keeping and paperwork optional until an employer is actually caught with an illegal on the payroll. This transfers law-enforcement responsibility back to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). But it does not have the manpower to do much more than spot check.

Furthermore, the INS is going to be kept busy processing amnesty requests. The Senate bill grants amnesty to all who have been here since January 1980; the House moves the date up to Janu-

ary 1982. In practice this means that almost anyone who wants amnesty will get it. "Illegal aliens live in a world where the use of fraudulent documents is common," said Senator East of North Carolina, in opposition to the bill.

One piece of good news is that inflation has by now largely eroded the negative effect the minimum-wage law has on employment. Most illegals working here already receive the minimum wage (\$3.35 an hour), so legalization will not necessarily embolden workers to turn into labor activists. (Contrary to liberal myth, they are not being "exploited.") Nonetheless, it is significant that labor unions did support the amnesty provision. Why would they want to legitimize millions of new workers, if not to organize and co-opt them?

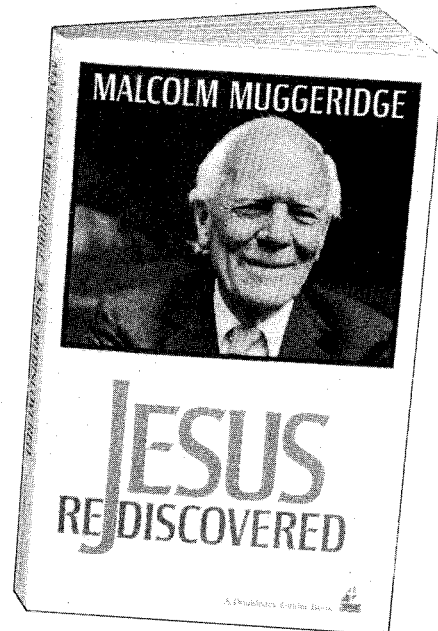
The big question is whether the legalized aliens will go on welfare. The Senate bill denies access to federal welfare benefits for three years, the House bill for five. It will take the ACLU or some such group five minutes to file a lawsuit claiming that this "discrimination" is unconstitutional, but who knows, maybe the courts will support Congress. Some states and localities have already declared that they cannot constitutionally deny benefits to legal aliens.

So we may be looking at a huge and economically disastrous increase in the welfare state. The "new class" of public-interest lawyers, welfare workers, academics, and media will certainly do their utmost to see that amnestied aliens will be accorded full victim status, weaned from work, made dependent on the state, and registered as Democrats with the privilege of voting themselves benefits from the productive. On the other hand, it may not happen. Immigrants have become patriotic and hard-working Americans in the past.

Two things are certain: the lack of any serious enforcement provisions means that millions of illegals will keep pouring in, and the precedent of one amnesty will create pressure for another. In this bill the INS has not been provided the resources to stop new foreigners from coming (thanks to liberal and Hispanic pressure). The second point is this: If Central America continues to be destabilized by Communist violence, the new arrivals from that area (like the present batch) will be anti-Communist. This may not have been anticipated by the senators who voted for the bill, but it will in the long run improve the level of debate in the Democratic Party. □

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The Burial of Detente?

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

THE SOVIETS have been making threatening noises, as they always do when the Western allies show signs of firmness. A fortnight before the Williamsburg summit, a "senior Soviet official" threatened that the Soviet Union would adopt a policy of "automatic" massive retaliation against all potential enemies if the new American medium-range missiles were deployed in Western Europe.

On the eve of the summit, TASS issued another statement warning that if the cruise and Pershing II weapons were deployed in Western Europe, the Soviets would retaliate by placing their SS-20s in satellite countries, and would threaten the territory of the United States directly.

All of this is standard intimidatory procedure. The TASS statement in particular made it clear that the Soviet leaders have finally got the message that detente is dead.

Personally, I would not go all the way with them in this interpretation. In its Soviet meaning, detente meant mainly Soviet and satellite access to Western (and Japanese) technology on easy credit terms. In that connotation detente, alas, is still with us, and will continue to be until the Western allies unite on the proposition that it is an unacceptable contradiction for them to stand up to the Soviets militarily while propping up the regime in other respects.

Gaps in Security

The Williamsburg declaration on security was certainly welcome, as far as it went (which was further than the French would have liked it to go, but not bad for a summit). Enough was agreed and recorded to strengthen the hand of Paul Nitze in the tough forthcoming rounds of his talks with Yuli Kvitsinsky at Geneva on the control of medium-range weapons in the European theater. With nerve and persistence in the face of the mounting barrage of unilateralist pressures on both sides of the Atlantic, there is now a fair chance that the Allies will close the yawning gap in Western security caused by the deployment of the SS-20s.

Having said this, how seriously do we have to take Moscow's warnings? The answer is necessarily complex. The whole lengthy detente process, leading almost inevitably to the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, was a vast propaganda exercise from the Soviet standpoint, and an extremely successful one at that.

One of many objectives was to persuade the U.S. and its allies that there was no point in high defense budgets, for one of two apparently incompatible reasons. Either there was no point in trying to match Soviet strength because we were all friends together and new weaponry was not going to be needed; or alternatively, as the Soviets weren't going to let a small thing like Helsinki stand in the way of catching up with the U.S. strategically, there was no point in even trying to stand up to the USSR since its military machine was overwhelmingly strong.

More worrying than the current Soviet threats by far is Soviet nuclear-war doctrine, which is not propaganda being addressed to a foreign audience but to the Soviet armed forces themselves. Western specialists are well acquainted with the doctrine, but remarkably little has been written about it in the daily newspapers of the West, as distinct from specialist journals.

In the 1970s, mainly under the influence of Major General George Keegan, at that time director of Air Force Intelligence, translations of the most important Soviet textbooks were commissioned in the United States. In London, the Institute for the Study of Conflict, then under my direction, published a detailed report by an expert study group in March 1978, entitled *The Strategic Intentions of the Soviet Union: Fallacies in Western Assessment*, and a number of learned books and papers have been published on the same subject in America.

The unpleasant fact is that Soviet war doctrine advocates the immediate use of nuclear weapons in the event of an armed conflict, and does not distinguish qualitatively between nuclear and conventional weapons.

On the Western side, there has been a deep reluctance to act on the available knowledge of Soviet views and prepara-

tions. Under the Carter Administration, especially, the prevailing doctrine of the arms-control negotiators was Mutual Assured Destruction (aptly shortened to MAD). The chief U.S. negotiator in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II, under Jimmy Carter), Dr. Paul Warnke, nursed the illusion that he could convert the Soviet side to the reasonableness of MAD.

Significantly, the officially sponsored translation of Soviet textbooks was suspended when General Keegan left his job in the wake of the policy changes that followed Watergate, and the Department of Defense decided, in effect, to appease the Soviets in the interests of detente. The work was resumed in the private sector under the sponsorship of Dr. Walter Hahn and the U.S. Strategic Institute.

The Soviet Initiative

One of the best-informed American students of Soviet war doctrine is Dr. Joseph D. Douglass (an engineer turned strategist), who comes close to saying that, along with extensive civil-defense preparations, the doctrine may have made the Western theory of deterrence obsolete. Already in 1978, according to a Soviet civil engineer who defected to America, the Soviets had built hardened working shelters for 45 million citizens in urban areas.

There has been no matching endeavor on the American side, still less in Western Europe. If one bears in mind that the Soviets have the initiative at all times, since we know, and they know, that nobody on the Western side is going to launch a pre-emptive strike, it is hard not to agree with Dr. Douglass when he argues that the West no longer has a viable strategy in response to the Soviet military threat.

By persuading Congress to go along with the MX project, President Reagan has acted to close the "window of vulnerability" he has so often mentioned. But important though this is, it is not enough. Civil defense, too, needs attention. The Soviets will not be tempted to use their advantage if the West restores the balance that has been upset these last few years. □

Private Property and the



DOUGLASS C. NORTH

CONSIDER SOME of the issues that faced the new American nation in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Decisions on these issues were not made in a vacuum; they were made in the context of material and intellectual developments in Britain in the previous centuries, as well as the immediate and urgent problems that faced a new nation. If the philosophical thought of Locke and Hobbes as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution set the intellectual currents, the immediate issues of the 1780s specified many of the immediate problems and proposed solutions. The new nation emerged from the Revolutionary War deeply in debt, both to foreigners such as the French who helped with finances, munitions, and equipment, and to American citizens who had lent funds to the Continental Congress. These debts were of such magnitude that the question was raised—could they be paid? A second problem facing the economy was the promises given to soldiers of the Revolutionary War that they would receive substantial veterans benefits. Again, the ability to pay was in doubt. Should these contractual obligations simply be canceled? A third urgent demand for tax moneys after the war arose because pirates were preying on our shipping. The economic and political system that emerged from the Constitution and the subsequent interpretations of that document reflected the underlying currents. More than any other two men, John Marshall and James Madison expressed the issues that were to set the tone for nineteenth century America. John Marshall, as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, was concerned with the problems that had threatened the rights of private property before the Constitution, when “a course of legislation had prevailed in many if not in all of the states which weakened the confidence of man in man and embarrassed all transactions between individuals by dispensing with faithful performance of engagements.” The strengthening of the institutions of private property consisted to a very important degree in legally limiting the power of government. The objective was to embody a set of comprehensive rules in an impersonal legal structure, rules that would not be subject to political whim and change by legislative bodies. Thus, the contract clause of the Constitution as interpreted by the Marshall Court was designed to rectify

the insecurities of private property that had stemmed particularly from the behavior of the individual states that made up the confederacy.

If Marshall was primarily concerned with devising a formal structure of law that would make a market economy based on contract productive, Madison was concerned with devising a political structure that would prevent factions from dominating the system. It is worth quoting Madison’s Federalist Paper No. 10 at some length to get the flavor of his intentions.

The most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government. . . .

The inference to which we are brought is, that the causes of faction cannot be removed, and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its effects.

If a faction consists of less than a majority, relief is supplied by the republican principle, which enables the majority to defeat its sinister views by regular vote. It may clog the administration, it may convulse the society; but it will be unable to execute and mask its violence under the forms of the Constitution. When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government, on the other hand, enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens. To secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a faction, and at the same time to preserve the spirit

Mr. North is a professor of economics at the University of Washington in Seattle. As of July 1, he will be Henry Luce Professor of Law and Liberty at Washington University in St. Louis. This article is adapted from an address he delivered at a symposium, Political Structure and Economic Institutions in American Growth, held at Reed College in Portland, Oregon.

The Depression marked the end of one era. The basic assumptions underlying a market economy, that it operates to provide maximum welfare for its citizens and that no tinkering by government can improve upon it, were fundamentally shaken

and the form of popular government, is then the great object to which our inquiries are directed.

Madison wished to make it unprofitable for groups in society to devote their efforts toward redistributing wealth and income through the political process. In order to do this, a system of checks and balances was designed to make it extremely costly for any faction, whether a majority or a minority, to use the political system in this fashion. The tripartite system of government as well as the division between the two houses of legislature and that between the federal, state, and local governments all were designed to make the restructuring of property rights in order to redistribute wealth and income very difficult.

The result is what Willard Hurst in his *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century* has characterized as "the release of energy." The structure of property rights in the context of the political organization encouraged individuals to undertake creative economic activity not only in technology but also in organizational forms that would enable society to realize the gains from growing markets and economies of scale, everywhere evident in the expanding American economy of the nineteenth century.

I wish to emphasize four aspects of this nineteenth century pattern of growth. 1) Private and social costs and benefits, however divergent they may have been in some aspects, were nevertheless close enough together in most cases so that sustained rapid economic growth took place. Put in non-technical terms, the structure of property rights encouraged individuals to engage in productive economic activity. 2) The government never completely withdrew from intervention in economic activity, but its efforts were directed primarily toward areas where imperfect markets (the capital market and foreign borrowing or the educational system) caused the government to supplement the activity of the marketplace. 3) Not surprisingly, the neo-classical model of the economist emerged in the context of a world of growing markets in which the relationship between price and quantity in the marketplace appeared to be the dominant characteristic. That is, the structure of the property rights in the system made the basic assumption of neo-classical models—in which price and quantity are the margins where critical decisions are made—a good approximation. 4) And finally, there were substantial losers in the course of this period of aggressive expansion—not only the indigenous Indian, but also those tossed aside in the course of rapid expansion. Our knowledge is imperfect on this score. It may well have been that the distribution of wealth and income became more unequal as the century progressed. The point to be emphasized is that the political structure made efforts to redress the tensions that did develop very difficult and costly. Indeed, it took a civil war to alter one basic aspect of property rights—slavery. It should be noted

that the abolition of slavery accounted for the major redistribution of wealth in the nineteenth century.

II

Eventually, this nineteenth century world underwent a process of change; indeed, we are living in the midst of the transformation today. We can illustrate the implications of this transformation by contrasting the middle years of the nineteenth century with those of the twentieth. A century ago, the Ohio Valley steeltown that was filled with noxious smoke and whose streams were polluted was the exception; today, environmental pollution is commonplace.

Recessions and depressions that hit us throughout the nineteenth century did indeed cause unemployment, but they also led to a sharp drop in prices. The majority of the population still lived on farms or depended on agriculture for a livelihood. In contrast, the Depression of 1929, with more than a quarter of the labor force unemployed, was a terrible disaster that had no counterpart in the past.

To cite another contrast: the city dweller working at a specialized task who depended on the smooth functioning of the rest of the parts of the whole was an exception in the nineteenth century, by mid-twentieth century he was the rule.

And, finally, the world of the Pax Britannica, in which one country dominated the power relationships among states, produced, however uneasily, an equilibrium. In mid-twentieth century a drastic change in the technology of warfare, accelerated by reductions in information and transport costs, made for a new pattern in relationships among states that we still cannot analyze theoretically.

We have created an urban industrial society with a degree of interdependence—local, national, and international—of unprecedented scope. It has led to a tension with the structure of property rights, which was derived from a primarily agrarian decentralized world. We live in a world where externalities (an externality is a beneficial or harmful effect on a person not a party to a decision) are ubiquitous and where every person's actions are dependent on others.

Madison's political system proved impervious to these growing tensions in the late nineteenth century, as the American farmer could attest; but gradually chinks appeared in the armor of the system of checks and balances that had been devised. The Interstate Commerce Commission, created in 1887, in part a result of efforts of disgruntled shippers but ultimately embraced by the railroads as an effective legitimate cartel, was a first big step. World War I concentrated the resources of the economy in the hands of government, but this effort was reversed at the end of the war, and in 1920 it appeared that there had been a revival of the political economic system of the nineteenth century. As it turned out, this was only a temporary revival.

The Great Depression marked the end of one era. The

basic assumptions underlying a market economy, that it operates to provide maximum welfare for its citizens and that no tinkering by government can improve upon it, were fundamentally shaken. The fumbling efforts of the Roosevelt Administration to devise programs that would produce recovery were complemented by a vast pattern of reforms in securities exchange and banking, labor relations, transportation, and public investment, which produced, what was called in the New Deal days, the alphabet soup of regulatory agencies. By the end of the 1930s the Federal Government's percentage of total gross national product was still small by modern comparisons, but its influence on the economy through the regulation of economic activity was far greater.

World War II not only irreversibly increased the relative size of the federal budget, but also changed the structure of power relationships among states, and led to the rise of the new superpowers. The federal budget rose most dramatically during and immediately after World War II, primarily as a consequence of military expenditures, but state and local governments have shown the sharpest rise in the last two decades. The composition changed too. Defense expenditures were no longer a rising proportion of total government spending. Rather, welfare costs and local services predominated.

This transformation was paralleled by a basic change in attitudes and beliefs. Skepticism about the effects of a market economy had been increasing long before the Great Depression of 1929. The muckrakers and the conservation movement both implied such doubts. And the groundswell of hostility to the market system that occurred with the Depression increased rather than diminished in the years after World War II. Joseph Schumpeter, in his classic study *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, traced the antagonism to the inability of the bourgeoisie to rule and to the growing hostility of the intellectual. For Schumpeter, the very success of the system produced a hostile ideology; but I suspect a more complete explanation would pay greater attention to the costs, to diverse groups in the society, of fluctuations in prices, incomes, and employment that characterized the market system and would relate those costs to changes in ideological perspective. Whatever the causes, we can agree with Schumpeter that the consequences

accelerated the transformation of the economic and political structure and that they play a major contemporary role in decision-making.

Furthermore, this brief history should take note of Mr. Dooley's comment, "Th' Supreme Court follows th' illiction returns." Our forefathers made sure that the Constitution should be extremely difficult to alter. Hamilton, Jay, and Madison never foresaw that what Marshall *interpreted* as the Constitution at one point in time could and would be completely reversed by a different Court with a different perspective at a later point in time.

This capsule history cannot do justice as a description of the transformation that has occurred, but the results are more easily summarized. In very general terms, the benefits of using the political process to modify property rights have risen enormously as the government has come to occupy a key role in the whole economic process. Not only does government account for more than a quarter of gross national product, but government rules and regulations—federal, state, and local—are ubiquitous in modifying property rights. And as the benefits have risen, the costs of using the political system have declined. The regulatory commission and the government agency are key decision-makers now. It is no longer necessary to incur the prohibitive costs of influencing a majority of both legislative bodies as well as the executive in order to change property rights and redistribute wealth and income.

To be more specific, the benefits have risen because the income of individuals, the profits of firms, the wages and benefits of trade unions, the prices of agricultural goods, etc., are being decided daily within the governmental process. This is so because 1) government taxes take a major portion of society's income and wealth; 2) government is a major purchaser of goods and services; 3) transfer payments that shift income from one individual to another amounted, for example, to more than \$86 billion in 1972-73; and 4) finally, changing taxes, rules, and regulations alter property rights that affect the income and wealth of every individual and group in the society. In this situation, access to governmental decision-making is essential.

The costs have fallen because the system of checks and balances has been replaced in many areas by government



Even a casual appraisal of the legislation passed at any level will reveal that the predominant trait of a good deal of it is redistribution of wealth and income. It may have other objectives as well, or the other objectives may be a disguise

agencies and regulatory commissions. The cumbersome decision-making process envisioned by Madison has now been replaced by an individual or a commission.

Moreover, the rise in benefits and the fall in costs are not uniform throughout the system. The political structure favors large economic units (giant firms, trade unions, farm organizations) over small; dedicated single-purpose groups (passionate minorities) over more diffuse interests; and producers over consumers, to name but a few of the favored and disfavored groups.

III

Access to the governmental decision-making process is too large a subject to be treated in this brief essay. However, the consequences of this shifting emphasis of decision-making from the market to government can be more briefly summarized. The most distinctive feature is the effort of all comers to attempt to get income and wealth at the expense of someone else. The farmers are subsidized by a price-support program and by various soil conservation programs, which go not only to the farmer but to the wealthy who buy farms as tax shelters. Middle-income groups are subsidized by a maze of laws that provide them with subsidized higher education and lower tax rates. The rich man had until recently his oil depletion allowance and still has his tax-exempt securities, and the poor receive that massive transfer of payments through old-age survivors insurance, food stamps, Medicare, Medicaid, and subsidized housing. Even a casual appraisal of the legislation passed at any level will reveal that the predominant trait of a good deal of it is redistribution of wealth and income. It may have other objectives as well, or the other objectives may simply be a disguise for efforts to get a slice of the pie at the expense of someone else.

This certainly should not be surprising, although professional scholars concerned with the issue appear to be most surprised of all. The economist in his textbooks writes of the government as some neutral benevolent despot concerned with the public welfare and resorted to only where externalities exist so that the market would not work well. The political scientist frequently operates with some normative model drawn from a long-forgotten political philosopher dedicated to a moral view of uplift by government. Yet surely the economist, as well as the political scientist, we hope, should have known better. After all, the economist's model is a wealth-maximizing model, in which one of the margins of decision-making was to use the political process to get decisions made when the market did not produce results satisfying to the participants. As we have observed, the cost of using the political process has changed dramatically from the days when Madison attempted to build a structure of checks and balances to prevent

factions from using the political process to get around the consequences of the market.

A distinguished economics colleague, Arthur Okun, has described this tension as one between equity and efficiency. I see no evidence that assures me that either equity or efficiency will be a victor in this evolving structure of public property rights. When we look analytically at the distribution of personal income in the United States today, we find a rather surprising result in the face of what we have described above. We find that while the distribution of income has been altered somewhat in the past forty years, the alteration is quite modest when compared to the efforts that have been directed. The top 20 per cent of income receivers have lost some percentage of income and the bottom 20 per cent of income receivers have gained, primarily as a result of in-kind transfers. Middle-income groups have gained modestly. This modest result is not hard to explain. The real reason is simply that cross-hauling has been occurring at a great rate. If the rich are being subsidized in one direction, they are subsidizing other groups in still another direction. And so it goes with every income class.

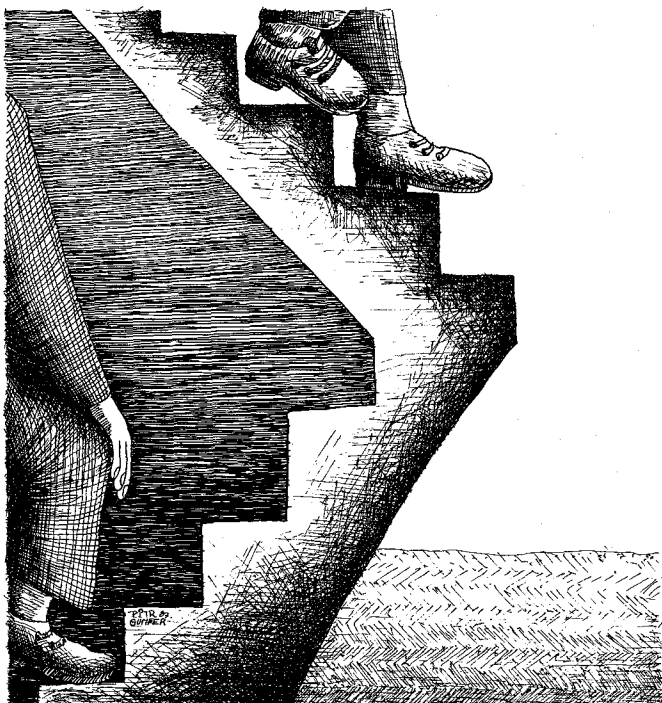
Does this mean that the consequences of the massive effort at redistribution have little or no effect on the economy? Not at all, just the reverse. The net effect may have been much smaller than one might first imagine, but the dead-weight effect on the economy is something else again. More and more of the resources of the society are being tied up either in devoting time and effort to redistributing wealth and income in one's favor or in defensive measures by groups to prevent wealth and income from being redistributed away from them. As an ever-growing proportion of the resources of the society are devoted to these ends, they are withdrawn from productive effort. That is the dead-weight loss. It should be noted in passing that this dead-weight loss does not show up in national income accounting. The manifestations of this phenomenon, however, are all around us in such developments as the enormous expansion of the legal profession and the conflicts among government bureaus with diverse and conflicting constituencies.

How is our urban, industrial, interdependent world resolving the problems raised by ubiquitous externalities? There can be no doubt that property rights are being restructured via the political process. There also can be no doubt that some successes have occurred. They may not have been the most efficient solutions in reducing external dis-economies and, to use the jargon of the economist, they may have been second best or even tenth best; but they still are relative improvements in restructuring private and social costs and benefits. Yet, over all, there is no logical reason to expect the political system to produce a set of property rights that will resolve the basic dilemmas of our society. We are accustomed to thinking of the Declaration

of Independence and the Constitution as simply a product of our Founding Fathers' supreme wisdom. In retrospect, the four million people in our society at the end of the eighteenth century appeared to have had a relative super-abundance of wise and thoughtful people. But that is hindsight. At least, in part, it had to be accidental good fortune that provided the juxtaposition of the philosophical insights and the economic interests of those groups that came to power in the English Revolution of the seventeenth century and carried through the period of the formation of the United States in the eighteenth century. The implicit assumption of our current economic policymakers—that wisdom will prevail over the narrower self interest of the groups competing in the political arena—is a declaration of faith. But the current restructuring of property rights via the political process provides no such comfortable assurance.

Let me illustrate: A major issue of our time is the specter of depletion of the earth's resources. How does the structure of property rights affect the outcome of the dilemma?

Under the classic structure of property rights that were devised in the nineteenth century, increasing relative scarcity led to a rise in the price of the resource. A rising price for the resource as compared to the prices of other goods set in motion two forces for change: 1) It reduced the quantity of the resource being used, and 2) it shifted resources of the society into innovating substitutes. That is, the profitability of investing in research to find substitutes increased. In short, the engine of the market system operates in such a way through a structure of property rights that it provides signals which help to resolve the problem of increasing relative scarcity. If property rights are so altered that these signals disappear, then the shortage may not be resolved but may become permanent. In this sense, the Malthusian of the modern day who envisions a dismal decline of this world because we are using up its resources may be right, but right for the wrong reasons. It won't be because the resources are used up but because the signals have not forced the society to modify institutional arrangements in



such a way as to resolve the problem. The Malthusian crises of the past that have afflicted mankind since the end of the Stone Age have been crises induced by population growth relative to the supply of resources within a given structure of institutional arrangements. When man has succeeded in resolving this problem, it is because he has modified the institutional arrangements to make him more efficient; but when he has failed to do so, it has been because of basic failures in restructuring institutions. This point is pertinent today because economists who have carefully investigated the relative price of natural resources over the last fifty years have found no general evidence that we are running out of resources; and indeed in specific instances where we have run into diminishing returns such as in wood products, the market mechanism that I described above has, in fact, produced the results stated; that is, it has both reduced the demand and induced the development of a variety of substitutes to replace timber and wood products. Yet, I find no comfortable assurance that it will continue to do so. There is no reason to believe that the emerging political structure over economic decisions will simulate the market process described above. The recent history of rent control in New York City is a case in point. With 76 per cent of the voters also renters, it is not surprising that public officials in that city have maintained rent control. The consequence with respect to perpetuating the shortage and deterioration of the housing stock is too well known to require elaboration. In recent years sharp increases in the prices of foodstuffs and other natural-resource products have led to ever-growing demands for price ceilings. Moreover, each short-run crisis has been heralded as further evidence of a Malthusian doomsday ahead accompanied by policy prescriptions that would indeed result in self-fulfilling prophecy.

We are a long way from developing a theory of non-market decision-making that will explain the political process. But the following points strongly suggest why non-market decision-making is very different from choice in the marketplace.

1. A consumer who wants to buy a product—a stove for example—in the marketplace can directly purchase it. In contrast, if he wishes to buy more of a service—say, crime protection—in the political system, he cannot buy it directly; he can only vote for the candidate he believes most likely to devote the desired fiscal resources to fight crime. While the consumer in the market knows he is going to get the stove, the voter has only one vote among many and therefore does not know the outcome.

2. This leads us to information costs. Information is never really free. It costs search time (which is time taken from other activities) and sometimes requires direct money outlays for the purchase of informational material. But the consumer buying the stove has much more incentive to seek information about the desired product (since he knows he is going to buy one) than does any “political purchaser,” since the likelihood that his vote will make any difference is negligible. In fact, unless he believes that the prospective election may be close, he has little incentive to vote at all.

3. The consumer buys a single product—a stove—but the voter votes for a package of promises, since the office-seekers run on a whole platform of issues. This raises still further the costs of information necessary to know what the voter is voting for. Ideologies are substitutes for search

Bell System people are ready for new directions.

"OUR NETWORK IS THE FOUNDATION FOR THE INFORMATION AGE"

*—Morris Tanenbaum, designated Chief Executive Officer,
AT&T's long distance and overseas services.*

The Bell System is in the process of change—change so rapid and pervasive that soon the Bell System as we know it will not exist. On January 1, 1984, for example, AT&T will divest itself of the 22 local Bell telephone companies. This is a result of an agreement with the Justice Department.

Preparing for the breakup of the world's largest corporation is an awesome task. But while much of our planning involves massive changes, we're making a concerted



effort to make sure some things *don't* change. Through it all, our major concern will be to maintain the high-quality communications services the American public has come to expect.

Helping people and businesses communicate across long distances is an important part of that service—and a responsibility we do not take lightly.

Historically, long distance service has been provided through a partnership among the local Bell telephone companies, independent telephone companies and AT&T's Long Lines Department, the managing partner.

But today, customers are able to choose among a number of long distance companies.

Though true competition has not yet emerged because regulation still plays a major role, we're very optimistic about the future. For competition to flourish and serve consumers, it is especially important that all parties be subject to the same rules, risks

and rewards. For our part, we are ready to compete fully and fairly.

I'm charged with forming AT&T's new long distance company. It will be responsible for providing service between communities throughout the nation and for connecting America to the rest of the world. Our new company will go into business after divestiture with some 120,000 employees backed up by an investment in plant and equipment approaching \$20 billion.

We will continue to expand and operate a nationwide and international network which can move information in any form, anywhere, at any time.

We'll also be changing and improving the very nature of that network. With the addition of sophisticated electronic equipment, we're making a vital national resource even more valuable. New technologies give us greater capacity and lower operating costs. And the benefits will be seen directly by our customers. With a network which is computerized and programmable, customers can literally design their own services.

The expansion of the network's digital capabilities is critical to meeting customers' needs. The Bell System has been a leader in such digital transmission technology as fiber optics, or lightwave communication. We plan to maintain that leadership position.

The Bell network is the foundation for the Information Age. Working with local telephone companies—which will serve as gateways to a variety of new communications services—we intend to bring the exciting capabilities of this new era to every individual who desires them.

We will offer high-quality, innovative and widely available services to our more than 60 million customers. Besides long distance telephone service, we'll offer WATS and 800 service, DIAL-IT* 900 service, Teleconferencing, Telemarketing, private networks, high-speed data services, and numerous other digital services.

We have the technology, the knowledge and the experience that come with decades of dedication to serving the public. These resources, and those of Bell Laboratories and Western Electric, assure our success.

Our greatest strength is people—both those who will remain with your local Bell telephone company and those who will be part of our new long distance company. They are experienced, well-trained, creative and committed to excellence. They carry into the future a tradition which has come to be known as “the spirit of service.”

That spirit has made us the world's leader in the electronic transport of information. And that spirit will keep us in the forefront. Looking ahead, I firmly believe that no other enterprise can match our record, our network, our technology, our people, or our future.



*Service mark of AT&T

From my perspective, individual liberty is inextricably entwined with the alternatives available to individuals in a society. By this definition individual liberty has been seriously eroded

costs—we buy a radical, liberal, conservative, or reactionary candidate rather than invest in the costs of really finding out about each issue (assuming we bother to vote at all).

Let's turn to the producer side:

1. A firm tries to maximize profits and competes with other firms by means of price, quality, and advertising. The office-seeker tries to put together and advertise the package of promises that will get him the greatest number of votes.

2. A firm borrows funds from a financial institution on the promise of repayment with interest or a share of the profits. An office-seeker receives campaign contributions from those who believe that he will further their interests. Individuals and groups with a big stake in the political outcome will be willing to invest heavily because the potential returns are great. For example, the Mafia will find it worthwhile to invest heavily in a candidate who (despite his campaign promises) will go easy on crime. Similar reasoning applies to public-school teachers, firms subject to government regulation, and trade unions subject to governmental action. In general, we are making the point that government favors producer groups over consumers.

3. To the firm, one consumer is like another. To the political representative this is not true. Voters who feel strongly about a single issue and will judge a candidate on that issue alone, even though they constitute a minority, are more influential than the rest of the voters, who feel less strongly about any single issue and will scatter their votes accordingly.

4. The most striking contrast of all is the measurement of performance. Large-scale private and governmental organizations nurture the growth of bureaucracy, and the relationship of bureaucracy to the measurement of performance becomes more attenuated, the further it is removed from competitive conditions. In a competitive industry, a relatively inefficient bureaucracy would go bankrupt. However, no such constraint limits the growth of a non-market bureaucracy (where substantial monopoly power exists, this result may occur even in a market).

Still another implication of the foregoing analysis relates to the ability of economic theory as developed to provide meaningful answers to our problems. As noted above, neo-classical theory focused on the margins of price and quantity in analyzing the market system. There has always been a vast array of other margins potentially available for decisions to be made. Today's regulated firm will probably find it more profitable to lobby in Washington or in the state capitals in order to change the rules and regulations that most influence its profitability. The result is to make standard theory far less applicable. It does not mean that the tools of neo-classical theory are not a powerful set of tools. It means only that they can be most effectively ap-

plied where markets are relatively free of these pliable alternative margins. It does mean that a theory of political economy is a necessity if we are to make more predictable statements about the direction in which our society is going.

The disarray in the field of macro-economics during the past few years is a consequence of the changing institutional structure that simply reduced the relevance of the standard theory of Keynes and the Monetarists. We not only have altered the system so that it does not respond as it used to, but we have made the meaningful margins a part of the political system; hence, we need a theory of political economy to replace, or at least supplement, Keynes and the Monetarists.

What are the implications of the foregoing analysis for individual liberty? From my perspective, individual liberty is inextricably entwined with the options—the alternatives—available to individuals in a society. By this definition individual liberty has been seriously eroded. The choices of occupations, the decision to hire, fire, or promote employees, the exploitation of natural resources, the establishment of new enterprises, the determination of quality standards for products, the disposition of one's earnings all are increasingly more circumscribed than in the past. Yet clearly, this is an incomplete specification of the issue. What have we obtained in return—greater economic security for individuals, a more desirable distribution of income, the reduction of environmental deterioration? Aside from the difficulty of agreeing about what is a desirable distribution of income, the assessment of these benefits (particularly as compared to hypothetical alternatives) would differ widely. I am somewhat skeptical about our successes in these directions. Yet obviously, we have experienced some degree of success. But the cost in terms of my definition of individual liberty has been substantial.

I would like to conclude on an even more sober note. Individual liberty is clearly a "good" in itself. But it is also an essential means to a desirable end. In a world of uncertainty, no one knows the correct path to follow, whether it is in the pursuit of economic well-being or other desirable objectives. But diversity—decentralized decision-making—assures the society that many alternative paths will be pursued and therefore raises the odds that success will be achieved. The varieties of creative talent and ideas that the individuals in a society possess must have ready and easy access to expression. Competition and decentralized decision-making contribute as much to that process as does equality of opportunity. Centralized decision-making, large-scale bureaucracy and monopolistic privilege operate in the reverse direction. The latter appears to me to be the path we are following. We are reducing our options with consequences that have foreboding implications for our long-run survival. □

Margaret Is Our Darling

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

IT WAS A painless victory, even if somewhat lacking in suspense, because the result had been so thoroughly predicted. But things could have gone wrong; a banana peel might have appeared suddenly under Mrs. Thatcher's feet, delivering Britain into the hands of a quite horrendously left-wing Labour government. All elections are described by participants as crucial, this one really was. American electors have—happily for them—never been faced with so drastic a choice. Indeed British electors have never seen the choice spelled out as clearly before.

This election was predominantly about two things—the personality of Margaret Thatcher and the nature of the modern Labour Party. The result certainly provides a mandate for the Conservative government to continue the general policies that Mrs. Thatcher and her colleagues have been pursuing over the past four years. Perhaps more important, however, the election constitutes a massive rejection of the policies and attitudes of the Marxist Left. The long-term consequence may be a complete restructuring of the British political field.

Several American correspondents covered the election for the British media. Walter Cronkite observed, amiably but truly, that the election coverage on television ranged from “the terrible to the barely tolerable.” Jessica Mitford dreamed wistfully of “a Reagan-less America and a Thatcher-less Britain.” Norman Mailer, watching Mrs. Thatcher's awesome performance, asked: “Where had one encountered this archetype before? This paragon of royal nannies? Was it in old MGM movies? One might be attending an amalgamation of Mrs. Miniver, Victoria, and Bette Davis.”

A British television interviewer tried vainly to insert a question into Mrs. Thatcher's gush of words. “Don't prompt me,” she said, “I'm in full flight.” “I know you are, Mrs. Thatcher,” he replied, “that's why I'm trying to stop you.” Not a hope, of course. She had none of the self-deprecatory humor, the

throw-away style, of Harold Macmillan or Alec Douglas-Home. Intense commitment is her keynote. Light relief is provided, unconsciously but uncomplainingly, by her loyal and long-suffering husband, Denis, who has been molded by the press into a great comic figure. “My idea of heaven,” he once said, “is to sit in my garden on a summer evening with a bottle of bubbly and my wife in a reasonably calm frame of mind.”

I was away in South Africa during the early stages of the campaign, and people kept asking me for reassurance that the Conservatives were really going to win; a natural enough preference since the Labour manifesto included a pledge to give financial and material support to “liberation movements” in South Africa.

MUCH MORE seriously and conspicuously, the Labour Party was pledged to scrap Britain's nuclear weapons and close all American air and missile bases in the British Isles. Not surprisingly, the NATO foreign ministers, who were meeting in Brussels, are said to have been “grinning like Cheshire cats” at the news of Labour's defeat.

The Labour Party was also committed to pulling Britain out of the European Common Market, although this would certainly have meant a substantial loss of jobs, if only because a number of foreign companies, mainly Japanese and American, have established offices and factories in Britain so as to be inside the European area. The Labour Party doesn't like multi-national companies anyway, but its main reason for this position was frankly explained in the manifesto. “The next Labour government,” it said, “committed to radical, socialist policies, is bound to find continued membership a most serious obstacle to their fulfillment.”

A necessary adjunct of those policies, as Labour spokesmen never hesitated to say, would be the imposition of exchange controls and the use of import restrictions. (But foreign holidays, they

added hastily, after the explosion of rage in France over President Mitterrand's controls, would not be threatened.) Domestically, within the harsh wall of this isolationist-siege economy, a Labour government would create some jobs by borrowing and printing money and by conscripting pension funds for politically directed investment.

There would be no attempt, this time, to curb the resulting inflation with a statutory incomes policy, because the unions, which are the Labour Party's paymaster, had categorically rejected the idea. And any legal restrictions that the Conservative government had imposed on the unions would be repealed. Union leaders would have a share in all economic policymaking.

Other items in the Labour Party's manifesto included the intention to phase out, and eventually end, private education and private medicine. In order to push such bills through more easily, the House of Lords would be abolished, leaving a single-chamber Parliament. And so it went on, a catalogue of policies dictated by the Marxist left wing that had infiltrated key positions in the party.

The Conservatives' most effective advertisements were simply a reprint of the main points from the Labour Party's manifesto printed across a double-page spread in every newspaper.

Under the shambling leadership of Michael Foot, Labour's campaign went increasingly wrong. As a veteran nuclear disarmor, he preached the new policy of unilateralism with genuine conviction; which proved a fatal mistake, since most of the electorate could see no sense in abandoning Britain's deterrent when even Mr. Foot admitted that the Russians were unlikely to follow suit. And the unemployment issue, which should have been the Labour Party's strongest card, somehow failed to make the expected impact, presumably because the voters didn't believe the promise of instant government-created jobs.

Halfway through the campaign, Denis Healey, who would have been a much better leader than Foot, but who is too right wing for the new commissars, was pushed to the center of the stage, like the hired gun brought in toward the end of a Western—and proceeded to shoot

Mr. Lejeune is NR's British correspondent.

himself. He spoke of Mrs. Thatcher's "glorying in slaughter" during the Falklands war, which was a very silly thing to say, not only because it was unfair and untrue, but because it publicized "the Falklands factor," which the Conservatives were discreetly leaving unstressed. It reminded people how the Labour Party had dithered and carped, while Mrs. Thatcher went on, unflinchingly, to do the job; a job of which the overwhelming majority of the British people thoroughly approved.

Come election day and the Labour Party was massacred. Many of its erstwhile supporters, alienated by its new Marxist face, voted instead for the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance, which, because of a quirk of the electoral system, won few seats but collected 25 per cent of the vote. Mrs. Thatcher, despite unemployment, despite the loathing she provokes in left-wing breasts, was queen of all she surveyed as she waved, with Denis beside her, from a window in Conservative Party headquarters.

The scale of her triumph would mean, scaremongers warned, an extremist Conservative government with Mrs. Thatcher brooking no opposition of any kind. It won't. Big majorities are, in some ways, harder to control than small ones, and anyway Mrs. Thatcher, despite the passion of her own rhetoric, is actually a cautious and moderate politician. Her alleged extremism lies only in the fact that, since she does not accept socialist economic theory, she has persistently refused to apply socialist remedies. A very shocking obstinacy, according to her opponents.

She has, admittedly, stiffened the intellectual coherence of her cabinet, reducing still further the "wet" element that held her back at the beginning of her first term in office. She will continue to reject the siren voices luring her, like all her predecessors, to the rocks of inflationary public expenditure. She has again committed herself, perhaps more than was wise, to the maintenance of the social services and especially of the National Health Service; but the government will have to consider how to limit the rising cost of the welfare state, which threatens to become intolerable.

Also on the immediate agenda is another step toward bringing the unions under the ordinary rules of law and, through secret ballots, under the democratic control of their own members. To neglect any of these issues would not be moderation: it would be irresponsible.

Meanwhile, union leaders, faced with another five years of being ignored by the government while their power drains away, are talking wildly of extra parliamentary action. And the Labour Party, bitter and strife torn, is on the verge of a mighty convulsion. Mr. Foot has announced his intention of stepping down. A new leader must be chosen, and the question is: Which way will the party go? Will it move back toward the middle ground, where most of its traditional working-class supporters plainly want it to be, or will it seek a suicidal redemption through ideological purity, thereby moving out of the political mainstream altogether?

If the latter, can the Liberal-SD Alliance occupy the vacant place? The Alliance too needs to sort itself out. At the moment it seems an incoherent mixture of the old Liberal rump, disaffected Labour politicians, and trendy middle-class backers. Its policies in this election amounted to little more than a hankering after the woolly consensus that brought about, or at least accompanied, Britain's decline throughout the post-war years—until Mrs. Thatcher broke away.

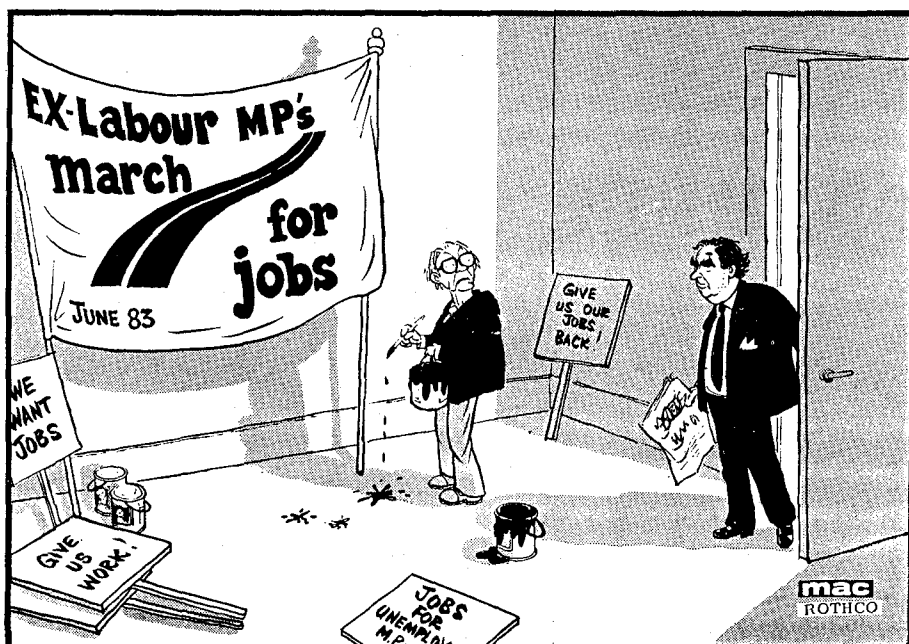
But the Alliance is not doctrinaire, and it does contain intelligent people. In one form or another it could mature, and, if the Labour Party continues to crumble, become the obvious home for a large number of leftist, but not Marxist, voters. Many Conservatives, almost as much as the Alliance members them-

selves, want this to happen. The great prize is that the threat of full-blooded socialism could be lifted from Britain.

Because the present aspect of the Labour Party is so unpleasant, so malignant, so destructive, a myth has grown up that the old patriotic Labour Party of Attlee and Gaitskell was quite acceptable even to Conservatives. That isn't true. The so-called moderate Labour governments of the past not only contributed (some Conservative governments, alas, did their share) to the loss of freedom and the erosion of Britain's economic base that Mrs. Thatcher is now trying to correct, but opened the door, inevitably and progressively, to the immoderate Labour Party of today.

Britain needs a new opposition party, not bound to the unions, not rooted in Marxist or socialist theories. If this election marks the real beginning of a change in that direction, so that individuals and businesses could plan for the future without the constant nagging fear of politically caused ruin, if Britain could become at least as stable in that respect as America, then 1983 will indeed have been a watershed year.

The extent to which, this election showed, Mrs. Thatcher has been able, despite unemployment and intractable economic problems, and without making rash promises, to carry ordinary people with her must encourage Reaganite conservatives in America as much as it discourages Jessica Mitford and her ilk. □



Mac, Daily Mail

Rothco

"Ask the others what they're doing."

IMRE NAGY

Lament for a Ghost Of Yesteryear

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

ONE CAN, of course, list pages and pages of treaties, pledges, and all kinds of solemn declarations by the Soviet Union during the past 65 years that have been unilaterally broken by the Soviet Union. The Helsinki agreement, which pledged Soviet respect for human rights, is but one of such violated treaties in recent memory.

However, there is one violation which I want now to recall and to memorialize on the 25th anniversary of that violation: the execution, announced on June 16, 1958, of Imre Nagy, the former Hungarian Prime Minister; Pal Maleter, the former Defense Minister, and two other associates of Nagy, by the Soviet Union.

For those too young to remember or old enough to have forgotten, the Hungarian people—and despite Soviet propaganda to the contrary, it was a people's uprising—took to the streets in October 1956 in an attempt to oust Soviet occupation troops in Hungary and to restore a semblance of democracy. The Soviet Union suppressed the uprising in its usual brutal fashion despite United Nations protests and, indeed, protests worldwide.

Imre Nagy, a longtime Communist who finally broke with Moscow, came to power as a result of the Hungarian revolution. He announced Hungarian withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and demanded from Yuri Andropov, the then Soviet ambassador, that Soviet troops leave Hungary at once. Andropov promised that the troops would leave except for a few who would remain to guard Soviet civilians. That was the *first* Soviet lie.

The Red Army moved into Hungary and into the streets of Budapest in overpowering strength. The revolution was crushed. Imre Nagy and his associates, fearing Soviet reprisals, sought and received political asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest on November 4, 1956. On November 21, the Hungarian quisling, Janos Kadar, pledged on be-

half of his Soviet puppet government—*pledged in writing*—that Imre Nagy and his companions at the Yugoslav Embassy could leave the compound “and proceed freely to their homes.” That was the *second* Soviet lie.

The next evening, November 22, a bus arrived at the Yugoslav Embassy, which Imre Nagy and his colleagues boarded. They were followed inside by Soviet army officers who ordered the bus to be driven to Soviet military command headquarters in Budapest. When it arrived, two Yugoslav Embassy officials, who had accompanied the bus to insure that the Nagy party, as per the signed agreement, be allowed to return to their own homes, were ordered out by a Soviet lieutenant-colonel. Surrounded by Soviet armored vehicles, the bus then drove the Hungarian prisoners to a local airport from which they were flown away to an unknown destination.

On November 27, 1956, Kadar declared: “We have promised not to start any punitive proceedings against Imre Nagy, and we shall keep our word.” That was the *third* lie.

FOR 19 MONTHS nothing was heard about Nagy and his imprisoned companions. Then on June 16, 1958, Radio Budapest announced that the People's Tribunal of the Hungarian Supreme Court had found the defendants guilty after a trial. So now there was a *fourth* Soviet lie; there was no trial but there was a judicial murder.

Nagy, Maleter, Miklos Gimes, Jozsef Szilagyi were sentenced to death, others to long jail terms. Said Radio Budapest, “No appeals were admissible. The death sentences have been carried out.”

A wave of protests, worldwide, broke out over this monstrous Soviet crime. The Yugoslav government charged that the Kadar regime had broken its word twice; first, it had violated its safe-conduct guarantee for Nagy and his party

by permitting—as if Kadar could have, if he had even wanted to, stopped it—their kidnapping by Soviet military personnel; second, it had permitted the executions. It has always puzzled me that Tito, who knew the Soviet mind, trusted Soviet promises, but then again he might have anticipated that the Red Army would have, in good time, marched into the Yugoslav Embassy to lay their hands on Nagy and company if that was the only way.

The UN Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary said after the executions:

The secret trials and executions were evidence of continued disregard for the General Assembly resolutions and for human rights. The record clearly showed that the action of the Hungarian government to bring Imre Nagy to trial was contrary to solemn assurances that Janos Kadar had previously given on behalf of the Hungarian government, including those confirmed by letter to the Yugoslav government.

President Eisenhower said that “the execution of Nagy and Maleter should alert the free world to the lack of confidence we are compelled to feel in the words and actions of these Communist imperialists.”

Twenty-five years later we are again being asked by the onetime Soviet ambassador to Hungary, Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, to believe in the Soviet Union's good intentions, its will for peace, its desire for arms control, its promises of no “first strike” strategy.

Twenty-five years later it is well to remember what happened to Imre Nagy whom they had to kill as a lesson to anybody else along the Soviet borderlands who might have counter-revolutionary ideas.

Twenty-five years later we should remember that the man who now rules over the USSR was part of the conspiracy which wiped out tens of thousands of Hungarian patriots, the conspiracy which dragged Hungary back behind the Iron Curtain, the conspiracy which demonstrated that neither the spoken word nor the written word of the Soviet Union is to be trusted by the militarily weak or the morally credulous. □

Arnold Beichman, Visiting Scholar at the Hoover Institution, has just published with co-author, Mikhail Bernstam, Yuri V. Andropov: A Political Biography (*Stein and Day*).

help



Curiouser, Indeed

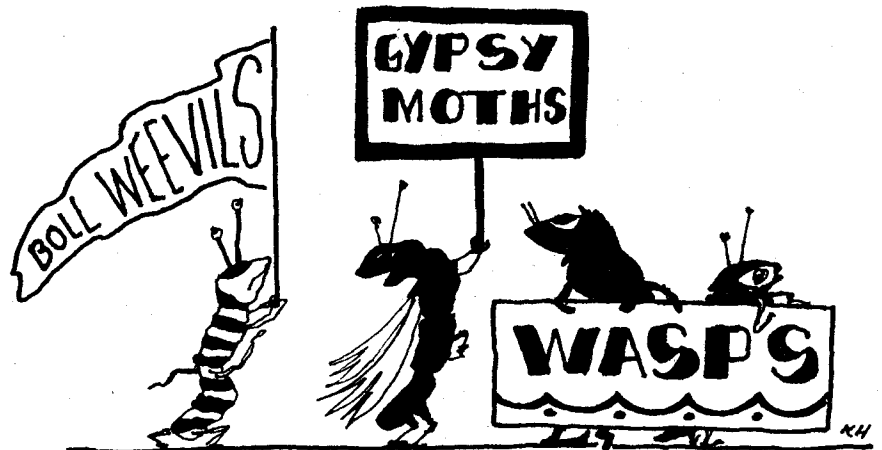
Though Alice's geography
Was rather vague in spots,
In Wonderland, nobody kept
Reports on tiny tots.
But I became reflective when
A high-school kid got mad
Because he flunked when he was asked
To locate Leningrad.

W. H. VON DREELE



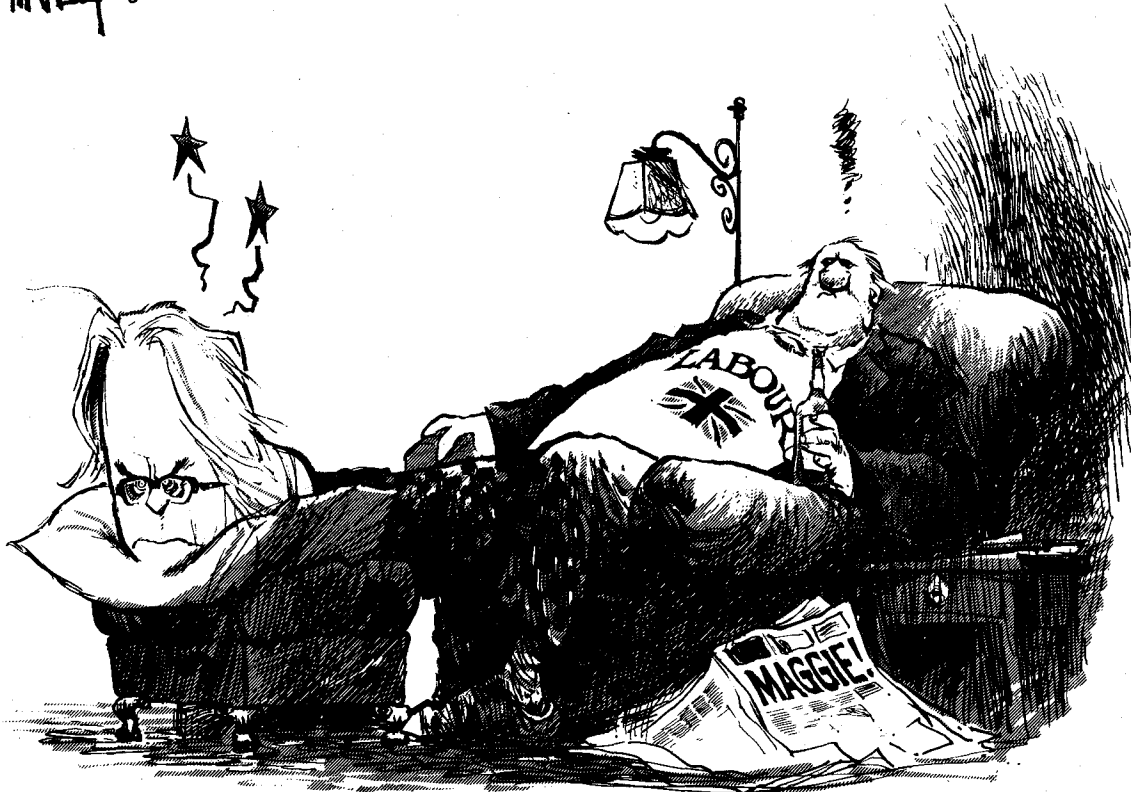
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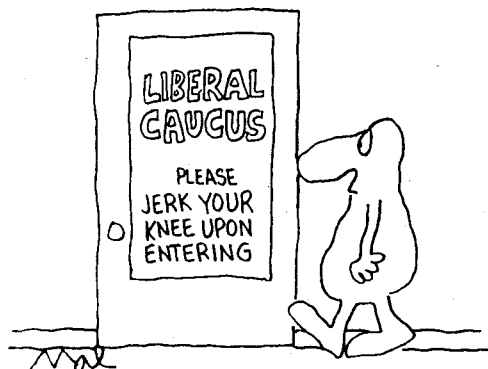
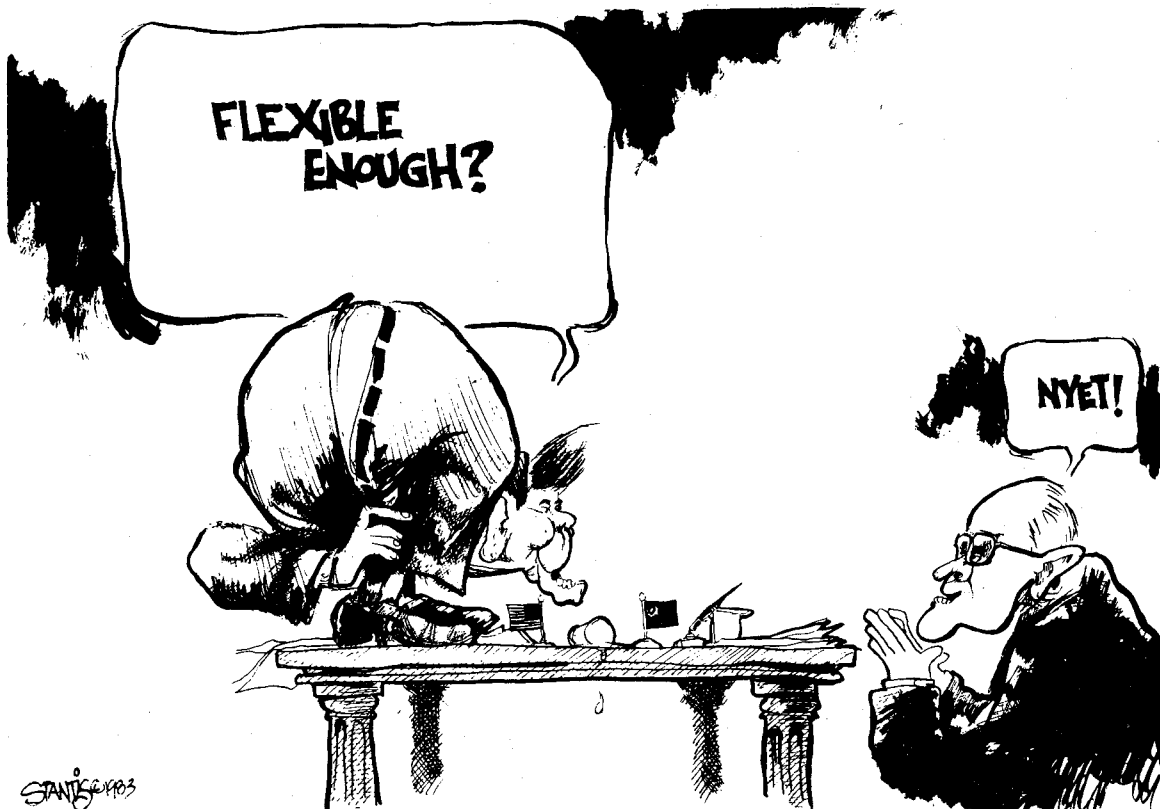
"He followed me home. May I keep him?"



WHAT'S A SYSTEM WITHOUT BUGS?

Chicago Tribune

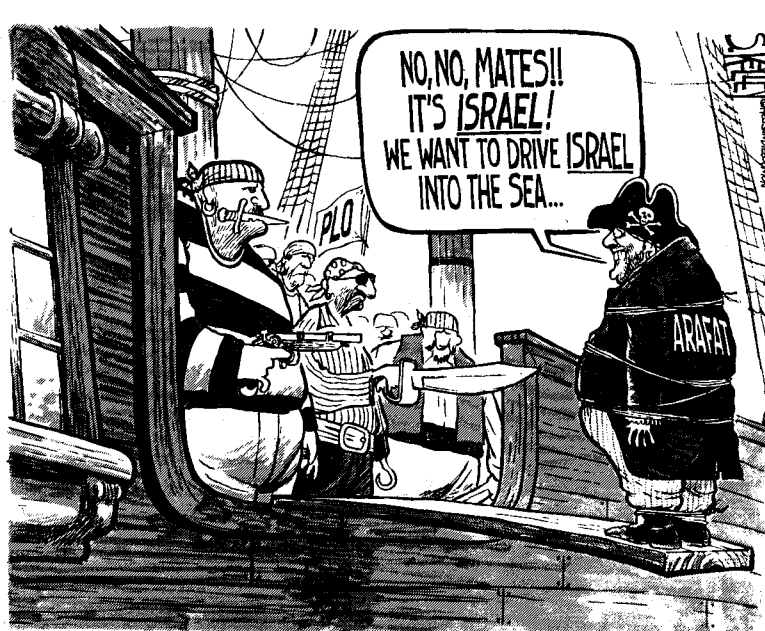




Scully, Punch

Rothco

"Funny, he managed to put transubstantiation into a nutshell. With the bomb he's completely at sixes and sevens."



Unearthing the Villain

LEOPOLD TYRMAND

EARLY IN 1981, one of my interviews with the Voice of America evoked this response in the Polish Communist press: "By saying 'we have won,' those like Tyrmand [invectives follow] try to leech onto the workers' struggle for purifying the idea of socialism."

By "we" I had meant all those in Poland and abroad who, for a lifetime, have deemed Communism mankind's curse, its bane, and who have never ceased to combat it. I was asserting that what happened in Poland during 1980-81 constituted an almost-Copernican alteration of human consciousness, proclaiming irrevocably, *urbi et orbi*, once and forever, that Marxism, as well as its political materializations, does not represent the proletariat and therefore has been reduced to the role of a political commercial. This outcome I still consider a victory, all the woes that continue to afflict Poland notwithstanding. Yet, in the spring of 1981, the Polish Communist Party, from the depths of its utter chaos, was making lame attempts to tie itself to the rebellion's momentum by forging the concept of purification—which proved only that conmanship was the best answer to Solidarity's message that the Party could come up with.

There is now evidence that the Gdansk upheaval and its short-lived socio-political sequel caused even more damage to the Western leftist network of "progressive" movements and international pro-Soviet agencies than it did to the Soviet empire itself. Thus it was inevitable that some ardent "purifiers" would emerge from the fellow-traveler universe. Three books have already appeared on the American market to confirm this suspicion. Daniel Singer's *The Road to Gdansk* is a naïvely tendentious apology for that figment of the international leftist imagination,

"socialism with a human face." Neal Ascherson's *The Polish August* hardly merits discussion: ultimately it amounts to little more than a propaganda tract for the moral radiance of Communism (whose only calamities are those stemming from human sinfulness, the hub of which is—of course—democratic America). Because it assumes a tone of free-wheeling, professionally crafted reportage, Lawrence Weschler's *Solidarity: Poland in the Season of Its Passion* is perhaps the most detrimental of the three.

A Pernicious Tome

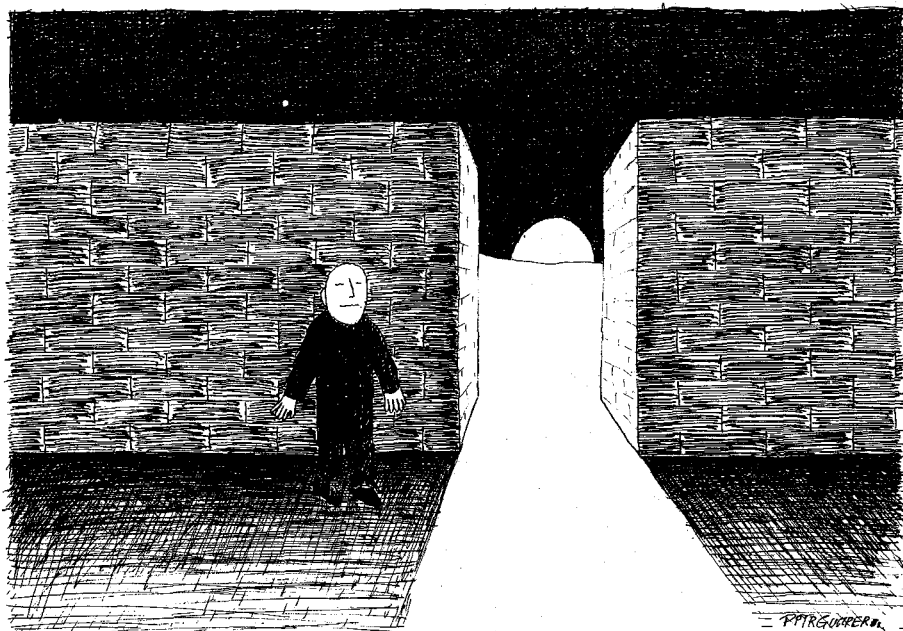
Mr. Weschler writes for *The New Yorker*, *Village Voice*, and *Rolling Stone*. He thrives on loose historicizing, and the result is an account that is dishonest, whatever his initial intentions. His frequent, unmitigated criticism of the Soviet and Eastern European reality is not supposed to cut to the core of problems, but to reinforce his rescue mission, which is to redeem the words socialism and Communism from the gales of Polish outrage, to salvage the "idea" from catastrophe. The

dialectics he applies to social phenomena is sometimes accurate and conclusive, but it always serves the purpose of some future absolution for "progressivism." However, what is pernicious in Mr. Weschler's tome, is that by mixing incomprehension with rabidity, he endangers the Polish-Jewish dialogue that has existed between people of good will on both sides since the end of the eighteenth century, and which—especially in America—in recent decades could claim some authentic gains in re-establishing a climate of moral assuagement for all involved.

For the foreword, Mr. Weschler invites the comments of Mr. William Winpisinger, the most Marxist-oriented of American labor leaders. In his text we find this gem of lowbrow semiotics: "In the U.S. no less than in Poland, working people must always stay on guard, remembering that just as Communism naturally breeds its Josef Stalins, Capitalism will continue to spawn its J. P. Stevenses." No one bothers to explain what sequitur links, in Mr. Winpisinger's mind, a despot who instituted modern industrial slavery and directly caused the deaths of some forty million people, with a Southern business enterprise that lawfully opposes unionization; but a tone of quarter-intelligent parallelism, or punk intellectuality, is set, one that condones any substitution of truth with pseudo- or demi-truths, and that permits Mr. Weschler to obscure the essentials, or pass over them in silence.

Nowhere in his book can one find any reference to the Polish grand lesson:

Mr. Tyrmand, a Polish émigré, is vice president of The Rockford Institute and editor of *Chronicles of Culture*.



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that Marxism in practice is inseparable from infrastructural social terror, and that Solidarity's glory was in breaking this infrastructure, in some ways, it would seem, irrevocably. Instead, we find equations between Leninism and corporate America. Mr. Weschler prefers not to examine the possibility that not only was Communism bankrupted in Poland, but also that the very vision—historical and moral—of Marx and Lenin was terminally expunged from the collective mind of the Poles; socialism and Communism will connote evil in the minds of several Polish generations to come. And he is even less interested in probing the fantasies about “democratic” socialism that are artificially sustained in the West. Fantasies which, in light of the Polish experience, are like makeup on a corpse, and which Eastern Europeans see as exactly that.

In Mr. Weschler's perception, Communism in Poland somehow did not proceed logically and systematically from a larger, established principle, it just happened as a sort of misshapen “thing” whose monstrosities are understandable and admissible. Its subsequent perversion is thus solely a matter of practice, never theory. The Communist economy in Poland is for him the “Polish economy.” Solidarity's foes are “bureaucrats,” not Communists. The showdown is the result of “mismanagement,” not a consequence of a rotten, faulty, corrupt, despicable, and compromised system of totalitarian power imposed upon Poland by force. People in his book speak about one another as “comrades”—it's an inane transmogrification of factuality, but it's supposed to indicate that the “idea” remains untainted and is not responsible for the horrors he describes. The fact that the Communist Party in Poland has long since degenerated into an extortionist Mafialike organism that resembles Murder, Inc. is not, in Mr. Weschler's psyche, associated with any doctrinal miscalculation or oversight; he thus feels no compunction to analyze the complexities of utopian thuggery or the idealistic rhetoric of hoodlums.

Mr. Weschler studiously avoids an honest admission that the seeds of evil are in the doctrine, that they are immanent in Marxian systemic thought, that the Party is only a miserable proxy of the idea which has failed in Poland so spectacularly that only a cruel dreamer could expect it to do better in Venezuela, Denmark, Australia. To Mr.

Weschler, the adjective “totalitarian” somehow does not apply to Polish Communism: he never uses it, although, I suppose, he would be first to toss it around in a sentence about Chile. He thus misses the opportunity of his life—correctly to diagnose the true cancer of our epoch.

Offhand Opinions

Nothing better exemplifies Mr. Weschler's liberal intellection than his outpourings about Polishness and Polish history. About the Mass celebrated by then-Archbishop Glemp at Solidarity's congress, he writes: “This meeting had the imprimatur of *all* Polish history,” for the primate of Poland is “the very embodiment of Polish history.” What does he know about that history? Where is his knowledge of Polish Renaissance scientism, of Enlightenment constitutionalism, of the republicanism of the gentry, of religious toleration which, from the late Middle Ages through the wars of religion, sheltered everybody from Hussites to Huguenots? What does he know about complex social and ethnic tensions and their relationship to a multifaceted national culture that was in a constant struggle with changing realities, or about the paradigmatic conflict between the ethos of political violence and ideological positivism that rocked Poland for two hundred centuries?

Those are the primary factors that, during the last five hundred years, have shaped the Polish society and the nation to a vastly larger extent than the influence of the Church. Actually, the Catholic Church, except in the early Middle Ages and the period of Islamic wars, behaved with tactful constraint in political matters. It did not achieve direct political significance as in France or Spain, or philosophical leverage as in Italy; it served most successfully as a cultural identification and folkloric symbol—a banner waved soulfully over crowds in times of distress. However, in the Polish confrontation with Communism, certain circles of the Church hierarchy have allied themselves with the formidable powers of the Polish intelligentsia that is the predominant moral authority of the nation. In concert with a liberal-democratic tradition dating back to the early eighteenth century, they have generated an ideological movement.

Mr. Weschler seems to know nothing

about the intellectual milieu of *Tygodnik Powszechny* and *Znak*, Catholic cultural publications; their offshoots, the so-called Clubs of Catholic Intelligentsia; their partnership with the secular forces of Polish Whiggism, and even social democracy. He ignores a fundamental fact of current Polish history—that both John Paul II and Solidarity are the products of *this* milieu and *this* co-operation. His benightedness is excusable: after all, according to his text, he has drawn most of his information about Catholicism in Poland from film directors and cabbies who miraculously speak English like actors in the Old Vic. His disregard of the role of Catholic lawyers and economists in Solidarity jumbles the sociopolitical substance beyond recognition.

He expresses offhand opinions that bear no relation to actuality—that in Poland Communists “never succeeded in collectivizing . . . the agriculture,” although it was Stalin's deliberate decision not to do so; that Gomulka was “a popular nationalist,” although he was hated as a Communist before, during, and after his altercation with Stalin, and considered only the lesser of two evils; that “there is virtually no one in Poland who advocates the restitution of the capitalist free market,” although in the brief postwar period *before* the Communist nationalization of industry and commerce, the Polish economy thrived, and countless studies and polls confirm that many workers judge capitalism to be a better alternative than *any* form of socialism and would support it in free elections. To Mr. Weschler, Poland 1981 offers the spectacle of a fight between simplistic (he calls it “romantic”) nationalism, symbiotic with religiousness, and a sort of indefinable despotism, unrelated to Marxian Weltanschauung. (This, of course, is evening-news-style reductionism, into which he often flops—he calls Pilsudski's army “nationalistic,” though it was fielded against the Red Army by the government of the Peasant Party allied with labor unions.)

Mr. Weschler reaches a nadir of leftist demagoguery in his “chronology,” which is supposed to give an overview of Polish history since 1939. Mr. Weschler can never bring himself to admit that the Katyn massacre was perpetrated by NKVD troops with the full knowledge of Stalin and Beria, which is by now commonly known: he dodges such unequivocal information. The Polish war

against Nazi Germany is turned into a history of the Jewish Holocaust—a tragic and catalytic phenomenon, but only tangentially related to the fate of Polish society. What happened in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943 is called an “uprising,” what happened in Warsaw in 1944 is a “rebellion.” (Elsewhere Mr. Weschler writes: “. . . the Nazis had extinguished successive uprisings in the ghetto and the rest of the town”—meaning, by “the rest,” the death of almost half a million people and the obliteration of a six-hundred-year-old city.) The Soviet army, according to him, “liberated” Poland in 1945.

In treating the postwar era, he stresses the heinousness of America, suggested by the Alger Hiss trial. The trials of the Polish anti-Nazi fighters—the preparation for which included torture of both the accused *and* the witnesses—are not mentioned. Czechoslovakia’s plight comes up in the context of the Battle of the People’s Park in Berkeley and the Woodstock Festival, which Mr. Weschler sees as analogous symbols of oppression in America. He juxtaposes the Communist action against Solidarity in mid-1981 with Reagan’s “oppression” of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), without explaining that in Communist countries air-traffic control is a paramilitary profession and that any strike would be dealt with by firing squads. Such specious symmetry would infuriate an Eastern European, but to Mr. Weschler it is obviously a matter of commitment. He writes in the introduction to his “chronology”:

When we list various massacres (Poznan 1956; Gdansk 1970) it is important to remember that a similar list could be contrived for the United States (Watts 1965; Kent State 1970); likewise, the phenomenon of purges, which may seem utterly foreign to us until we recall our own McCarthy era. Some of the American dates (Polestown, PATCO) are therefore provided as an antidote to smugness.

This kind of parallelism reflects the astoundingly warped mind that was defined by Lenin as useful idiocy. Finally, Mr. Weschler, without consulting so much as a paperback encyclopedia, gives June 22, 1940 as the date of the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war. The continuation of his Polish reporting appeared in two recent issues of the *New Yorker*—April 11 and April 18. While these articles reflected more precise research,

something crucial was still lacking: a plain admission (or discovery) that Jaruzelski, Stalin, or the Red Army aren’t to blame for the Polish tragedy, but Marx, Lenin, and their ideas. In Poland, anyone over the age of twenty knows that even without a Jaruzelski, Nicaragua and El Salvador, if left to their fate, may soon resemble Poland.

There remains what Mr. Weschler has done to Jewish-Polish relations—a thorny, emotional issue. He seems unable to distinguish between particular brands of anti-Semitism—a matter of primary sensibility to anyone on the continent; Gobineau and Chamberlain, the originators of racism, are meaningless to him, and the rapport between religious anti-Semitism and chauvinism, or socio-economic discrimination, he leaves untouched. He is unconcerned that after the war and the Holocaust, there was a chance of doing away with the appalling legacy of Polish anti-Semitism: there was a scar on the collective Polish psyche that had witnessed Nazi bestiality up close, and a new, incoming generation would determine the universe of national feelings. But in 1945, along with the Soviet army, came Jewish security officers and high-powered political functionaries—both of whom were to execute the orders of Russia and Communism; they were the ones who had to install the new and hated order at *any* cost in lives, suffering, trampled human and national dignity. Their numbers were many, far disproportionate to the remnants of surviving Jews, and they did not refrain from the worst cruelty and ignominy.

“A Good Communist . . .”

Whether they were ideological zealots or cold-blooded hitmen is immaterial—they existed, and they engendered a new anti-Jewish bitterness. Prewar Polish anti-Semitism was an insult to conscience and intelligence; the crimes of Polish anti-Semitic hoodlums during the Nazi occupation were beneath any norm of humanness; in the memory of the hunted who survive it remains a nightmare of the lowest depth of human wickedness. Nonetheless, anyone who passes judgment must take into account that today, in Yad Vashem, the number of Trees of the Righteous that bear Polish names equals nearly the sum of *all* other names from the rest of Europe. According to research pub-

lished in Israel and the U.S., the infamous Kielce pogrom was engineered by KGB and Polish security to discredit the Polish resistance to Communist subjugation in the eyes of the West. But that event could not have taken place without the knowledge of top Jewish officials who, at the time, dominated the Communist security organs in Poland.

Mr. Weschler is little interested in these circumstances: his forte is trivia. He stubbornly refuses to answer the central and most tormenting question: Why did the East European Communist parties—vehicles for the proudest Marxian principles of equality of all men regardless of color, creed, and nationality—become cesspools of the worst kind of obscurantist, brutal, bloodthirsty anti-Semitism in today’s Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia? Or why is it that the European Fascists and anti-Semites in Poland, East Germany, and Rumania all found their way, during the postwar period, into the ranks of the Party—where they were welcomed and assigned mostly to secret-police work? Or why have the Communist parties in Eastern Europe become the incubators of the most vicious Judeophobic propaganda in today’s world? There must be some seed of depravity in the very ethos of Marxism, but *this* does not interest the Singers, the Aschersons, the Weschlers. Their attempts to present Solidarity as a reformist phenomenon dedicated to the purification of socialism can be pursued only through casuistry. There are ten million people in Poland who, if they could only speak to the world, would announce that they want to improve or purify nothing, but just do away with socialism—completely, and forever.

Nothing better expresses their feelings than the words I heard from a very young Polish Jew who recently came to America from Poland via Israel. He is still in his teens, a scion of an old family of Marxist intellectuals, activists, and revolutionaries, the accomplished product of a staunch Communist upbringing and education in the best Warsaw schools, a person who has never experienced anything but Communist social and cultural reality. When asked if he believes that a Communism better than the one he knew is possible, he answered, with a bitter grin: “A good Communist is a dead Communist . . .” Asked if others in his generation feel the same grim rancor, he replied: “Everybody.” Apparently, Mr. Weschler never ran into any of *them*. Or, if he did, he never told anybody. □

Trouble on Dog Hill

GEORGE BYRAM LAKE

THE ODDS against José López Portillo being hauled into court and required to explain his "inexplicable enrichment" during six years as President of Mexico have dropped from one in a million to one in a thousand, and are still dropping. If the intensity of public wrath against their former ruler were the deciding factor, JoLoPo, as he is derisively called, would be in the dock tomorrow.

While most Mexican presidents of modern times have ended up with fortunes larger than their official salaries could account for, López Portillo seems to have been more acquisitive than all his predecessors combined. Ten years ago he was a university professor of slight means; today he is the possessor of a large—some say vast—fortune. The Mexican people are usually tolerant of a little graft in office, and any idea that the provenance of a former president's possessions should be subject to rigid audit would have been unthinkable.

But not now. The representatives of several minor parties have urged in Congress that López Portillo be indicted for theft, and newspapers and magazines regularly echo the demand. Formal accusations have been filed with the federal prosecutor, and the Mexican Workers' Party (PMT) has lodged documented charges alleging a 317-million-barrel discrepancy between the petroleum production figures of Petroleos Mexicano (Pemex), the government oil monopoly, and those of the federal budget office. That would be between \$10 billion and \$15 billion in missing oil and would, if true, compare with Teapot Dome, the notorious U.S. oil scandal of the 1920s, as a whale compares with a sick minnow.

López Portillo's wealth is too conspicuous, and contrasts too sharply with the desperate plight of millions of Mexicans, to be easily ignored. Partly because of incompetence but mainly because of the corruption that pervaded the high levels of his administration, he bequeathed Mexico the worst economic

crisis since the Revolution of 1910, and a \$90 billion or worse foreign debt. The Mexican people and their descendants far into the twenty-first century will be saddled with that load—if they continue to pay. They are also impatient with the greatly increased taxes, fees, and charges for every kind of service that accompany the government-imposed austerity program. They believe themselves to be paying for the errors and crimes of cynical crooks who have, so far at any rate, gone free.

Especially resented are repeated increases in the price of gasoline. "The oil is ours!" the jubilant slogan of former years seems ironic today when, because of the decline in the price of oil, the Mexican government raises the price of gasoline from 2.8 pesos a liter to 24 in just over a year. Other gasoline-price increases are in the offing as government revenues continue to fall below forecast.

The most obvious of the former president's possessions is popularly known as *Colina del Perro*, or Dog Hill, in mocking allusion to his assertion that he would "fight like a dog" to protect the value of the peso just before he devalued it for the second time in four months. The 32-acre hill-top estate is a walled compound on the outskirts of Mexico City, and is designed to house comfortably and separately Mr. and Mrs. José López Portillo and the families of each of their three children. It contains four richly furnished mansions, each with enclosed swimming pool, and all heated by a central plant. Other amenities, aside from lawns, tennis courts, and gardens, include an astronomical observatory and quarters for the security forces assigned to head off the curious and the ill-intentioned.

The salary of the Mexican president is equivalent now, after all the devaluations, to \$66,000 a month. A building expert, after an unauthorized examination, estimated that López Portillo would have been obliged to serve in office for 107 years, without spending

money on other amusements, to pay for Dog Hill and its magnificent works. He allowed himself to wonder, therefore, how the former president had been able to find enough left in his pay packet to spend \$2.3 million for his Acapulco vacation retreat, and other considerable sums for fine properties now occupied by close relatives not heretofore affluent.

The weekly magazine *Proceso* may have shed some light on that subject when it revealed that the federal department of public works and its engineers, *peones*, and power equipment were furiously busy on Dog Hill during the last 18 months of López Portillo's term in office. In a thought-provoking coincidence, Pipsa, the government's newsprint monopoly, temporarily cut off *Proceso's* access to paper soon after the article appeared.

Dog Hill is much in the public mind. Several columnists gleefully reported that when López Portillo and his great and good friend, Rosa Luz Alegria, former Secretary of Tourism, sat down to lunch recently in a leading restaurant, a diner somewhere in the shadowy interior emitted a bark. Others followed suit, and within seconds the whole place was yapping. The targets of the outrage promptly departed. Two days later the former president left in a private plane for an extended stay in Europe.

THE EAGERNESS with which this incident was repeated and embellished is evidence that the public wants to do a great deal more than yap. Opposed to them is the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional), which has staffed and controlled all levels of the Mexican government—the executive, legislative, and judicial—for more than fifty years and is not about to let any of its *pesces gordos*, or fat fish, be netted for doing what comes naturally.

Miguel de la Madrid, the new president of Mexico, is considered a man of rectitude. He was hand-picked for the job by his old boss, López Portillo, and was elected on his pledge to stamp out corruption in government. But while a few small-fry have been caught, the new administration has been notably slow in pursuing the big ones. López Portillo himself, in his last days in office, had promised to make public the names of

Mr. Lake frequently writes for NATIONAL REVIEW on Mexican affairs.

the *saca-dólares* who, he said, had taken \$24 billion out of the country in a panic flight from the shriveling peso. But that threat was discreetly dropped when it became all too clear that the major miscreants were none other than high officials of the government and, of course, of the PRI.

The top executives of Pemex, and especially of the Pemex labor union—which is virtually a partner of the government in the operation of the company—remain untouched, even though two of them—DeLéon and Chavarria by name—were identified as recipients of a \$91-million bribe that an American company admitted paying. The pair, who were thought to be all too ready to name recipients further up the line, seem to have vanished. Investigation within Mexico is further hampered by a loss of records, brought on by a timely fire of mysterious origin that swept three floors of the Pemex headquarters.

Several of López Portillo's friends

and colleagues have insisted that a clean slate, and a new start, without postmortems or recriminations, is essential for national recovery. Besides, they say, the former president's fortune is hardly excessive for a man of his stature. López Portillo himself made a farewell tour of Mexico and repeated in speech after speech that "my hands are clean." Suggestions that he demand a hearing to remove any lingering stain have not been received enthusiastically. "History will judge me," the former president says. His critics insist on more immediate action.

The federal prosecutor and the national congress have both declined to act, and the chief justice of the Supreme Court, in a much criticized preemptive action, rushed to the defense of López Portillo before any charges were filed. The only remaining chance for action now rests with de la Madrid.

The new president plainly is on the spot. Confidence in his government, and

in his promises to "remoralize" the bureaucracy, is ebbing fast, and survival of the political system credited with giving Mexico a half century of internal stability is now in doubt. In fact, Dr. Luis Pazos, the economist who predicted five years ago that López Portillo's excessive deficit spending on socialist development plans was leading to a crash, believes that only courageous action by the president can prevent a violent upheaval. And he is not alone.

De la Madrid, Pazos writes, must bring López Portillo to trial, and he must return the private banks that López Portillo expropriated last September to their rightful owners.

"De la Madrid is faced with a choice between loyalty to the man who made it possible for him to become president of Mexico, and his larger duty to restore the faith of seventy million Mexicans in their government," Pazos wrote in his weekly column. And in his opinion, the time for choice is short. □

The Way It Is—and Why

IM GOING to settle this once and for all. Oh, I know you don't think so. But just watch.

The question is, Why is the world run so incompetently? From the guy who picks up your trash to the men in charge of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, is the world run by intelligent men who are putting us on, or by idiots who really mean it?

Why, as Murphy postulates, does everything that can go wrong—go wrong? Why do "the best-laid schemes o' mice and men Gang aft a-gley"? Why does it take 17 electricians to screw in a light bulb? Why don't the trains run on time?

Why can't you get good help any more?

All right. I'll tell you why. You're not going to like it. But here's why.

The world is average.

Most people, most times, in most places, are average. C. That's the kind of work most people do. That's the way it is. You never could get good help. And probably you never will.

The problem is one of expectations: You think you should be able to get above-average products, services, and performances from others on a regular basis. Statistically impossible! An illusion! But easy to understand.

Take antique furniture. This is furni-

ture from the past, not just old, but prized for its design and the craftsmanship that went into making it. Antiques are valuable. They are well cared for and become the source of our notion of what furniture was like in the past: "They really made things back then." As for today: "They just don't make 'em the way they used to."

Baloney! Most of the junk was left behind, filtered out. The reference system for furniture is skewed toward the excellent. Our perception of average design and workmanship is based on an illusion, which leads to the expectation of above-average furniture on a regular basis—and heightened dissatisfaction when we don't get it.

Apply the antique-furniture phenomenon elsewhere, anywhere.

IF SOMEONE opened a restaurant in 1950 with mediocre food and ordinary service and it went broke, would anyone remember? But if it was excellent, it was brought forward in memory, along with other fine restaurants, to form the perceptual base from which we derive our present notions of average—and our heightened expectations.

And on and on, and it has always been like that.

Even in the present, what products of human endeavor do we prominently display? Right, the best ones; which further distorts our notion of what average is—and ipso facto (ipse dixit) our expectations.

True, dramatic debacles get through the historical filter. And fiascos of the present are presented in the news. But look at the numbers—excellent v. incompetent—on prominent display over the entire landscape. The incompetent is merely a spice we put on the excellent to enhance our indignation about the average. From the guy who picks up our trash to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and on and on.

The expectation that the products of human endeavor will be consistently above average is what leads to the gnashing of teeth; and all the laws, axioms, postulates, corollaries, comments, rules, principles, philosophies, dilemmas, extensions, mottoes, and maxims that attempt to explain why the world doesn't work as it should—and bemoan the fact that it doesn't. All grand attempts at wishing away the bell-shaped curve.

The world is average.

There, now you understand.

Feel better?

Neither do I.

—LEE WHIPPLE

Europe's Insecurity Blanket

From the Continent

ERIK V. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

THE URGE for security is a profoundly human trait. The Lord's Prayer, rightly translated, does not say, "Give us this day our daily bread," but "Give us this day tomorrow's bread," which some theologians quite sensibly interpret as the hope for bread on the coming days as well, so that we need not live from hand to mouth. Yet, when speaking of material security anywhere in the Western world, the trend has been to treat the individual as totally improvident and to entrust his or her security to Nietzsche's "coldest of all monsters," the state.

The modern democratic state, while claiming that it trusts, esteems, and admires the adult and mature citizen, nevertheless obviously regards him as an impossible adolescent. Hence the rise of the welfare or provider state. Though every state should have the welfare of its citizens at heart, the provider state is completely preoccupied with the *material* well-being of its citizens.

Surprisingly, the concept of the provider state didn't originate in the more or less democratic West, but in Imperial Germany and, to a certain extent, in Imperial Russia, where laws regulating labor and security date back to the eighteenth century. In Germany, under William I, Bismarck, and William II, social legislation was established mainly for two purposes: to stem emigration and to limit the growth of the Social Democratic Party, which at that time was neither republican nor monarchical. One of its leaders, Ferdinand Lassalle, dreamed of a *social* Prussian monarchy. (Lassalle was killed in 1864 in a duel over an aristocratic lady. Bismarck commented in his apologia that Lassalle was a confirmed monarchist, but that he hadn't made up his mind whether the ruling dynasty in Prussia should be the Lassalles or the Hohenzollerns.)

The strategy of the German monarchy was partially successful: After the 1880s fewer and fewer Germans emigrated voluntarily; but the Social Dem-

ocrats, who promised even more "social security" than the Imperial government was willing to grant, steadily gained votes. Bismarck, the original advocate of German social security, was surpassed by William II. When striking German workers ravaged the gardens of factory directors, the Kaiser sympathized with the workers while Bismarck warned him that the managers were also his subjects and had a claim on his protection. The government's social legislation was carried out by administrators—most of whom were (in the words of Josef Schumpeter) "impecunious Junkers on spartan salaries—who took to the task as fish to water."

In our demo-republican era, this patriarchal attitude has changed. Now candidates for office buy votes by granting favors to the voting public. The mostly socialist parties of the Left have been extremely generous with public money, and the parties of the Right, when in power, usually haven't had the courage to cancel the "progressive" measures of their left-wing predecessors. The result: one or more additional steps toward the provider state when the Left is in power; and, at best, a halt in the process when the Right succeeds.

Why not educate people to provide for their own *personal* financial security? It was calculated, some time ago,

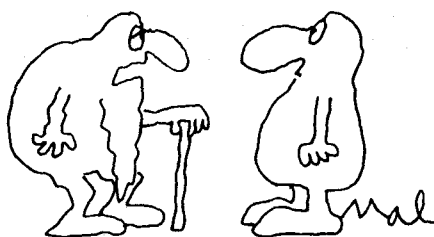
that with the exception of the poorest of the poor, it would be possible for every German to cover the risks of unemployment, illness, and old age through private insurance companies, doing away with the gigantic bureaucracy that collects and distributes money for the provider state. While competing insurance companies could easily take over the job, the Big Brothers in our midst argue that the population hasn't been "trained" that way. The very same people who argue this way also praise the maturity of voters who are intelligent enough to pass on every imaginable issue—except, it appears, their own financial security.

The counter-argument to this is that anyone who works should be compelled to get insurance from somewhere, just as automobile owners are required to insure their vehicle but are free to choose the company. There is, however, one snag in this system: It is workable only if and when the currency is solid. If the government devalues the currency and permits inflation, the difficulties in collecting in case of an emergency might be great, if not insurmountable. Most governments adjust benefits to the rate of inflation, but the problem would hardly arise if there was a fixed standard, such as the gold standard.

WHAT is the situation in Europe now? The difference between Chancellor Helmut Kohl's right-wing Germany and François Mitterrand's left-wing France isn't great. Both governments find it difficult to balance their social-security systems; both are suffering high unemployment, and their benefits were calculated on the basis of a sound economy. France will have to go deeper into debt or cut social-security premiums—unless it is willing to increase premiums.

In France, as in Germany and several other European countries, a collapse of the social-security system is by no means impossible or unthinkable. In peacetime no country collapses completely, but its finances can be reduced to bare bones. It is conceivable that, in a crisis, benefits might be reduced to one-half or one-third, with devastating social and political consequences. Who would then be guilty? Obviously not one individual but the whole vote-buying system. Contempt and corruption plague the political scene—and there is always the readiness of governments to incur debts that our children and children's children will have to pay. □

"AND THEN MY MID-LIFE CRISIS EVOLVED INTO A LATE-LIFE CRISIS!"

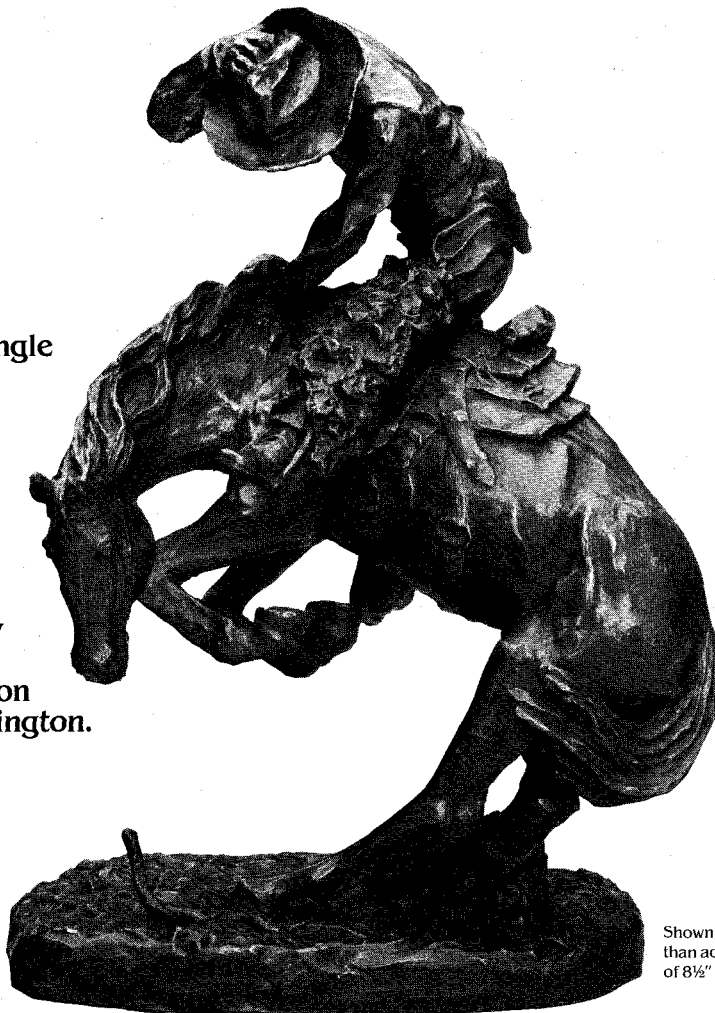


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Books Arts & Manners

Square One

RICHARD BROOKHISER

This is a gossip book about countries. Luigi Barzini, the raconteur, is an Italian, which is to say a cynic, and a classical Liberal, which is to say an idealist, and he brings both qualities engagingly to bear in this charming, anecdotal account (easily read and, one imagines, easily written, probably over a few good bottles of wine) of the peculiarities and traits of the peoples of Western Europe.

Peculiarities like wine.

Wine is perhaps the essence of our continent. It is a rebellious product. The best cannot be homogenized and mass produced. It varies from place to place and from year to year. To make it, man must submit to unvarying disciplines, trust his instinct, follow nature, preserve the ancient arts of the vintner unchanged in spite of the scientific and convenient instruments invented to ease his work. It [is] one of our sacred symbols, as sacred as the flag of Europe that nobody has yet bothered to invent.

Chesterton never wrote better about beer.

After an introductory throat-clearing or two, Barzini spins a chapter on each of his countries. The British take precedence, as they did one hundred years ago in real life, when Continentals sought, by careful imitation of externals, to share in Britain's greatness. British pipe fittings, railroad gauges, nautical charts, riding clothes, parliaments, sports, and toilet bowls spread over Europe like toadstools, often with odd results.

My grandfather, the best tailor in Orvieto, ironed his trousers, like everybody else, with reverse creases at the sides, but added some horizontal creases too because he had noticed English travelers always wore them that way. He did not realize the horizontal creases appeared because travelers had to fold the trousers to pack them in trunks and suitcases.

What made the British successful was,

George Jackson Eder is a lawyer, economist, and specialist in Latin American affairs. He lives in Washington, D.C.

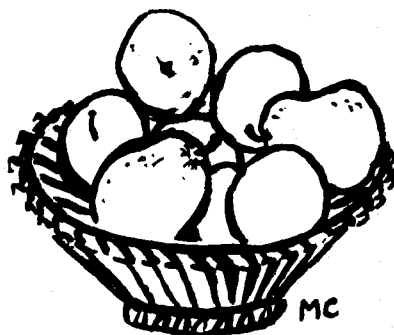
... H. N. Kelley has contributed articles to Episcopal Church publications.

... Hugh Kenner's most recent book is *A Colder Eye: The Modern Irish Writers*. ... Joe Mysak is an editor and writer for *The Bond Buyer*.

however, inimitable—the predisposition of all Britons to act and think alike in all situations. The trait, once a source of strength, now, in Barzini's judgment, weakens them, as their characteristic style of acting and thinking—stolidly and stubbornly—has become unsuited to a more protean world.

The Germans, by contrast, suffer from excessive mutability. Barzini recalls the Kurfürstendamm, the main drag of Berlin, in 1931:

... filled with characters dreamed up by de Sade, Havelock Ellis, Sacher-Masoch, Krafft-Ebing, and Freud. There were men dressed as women, women dressed as men or little schoolgirls, women in boots with



The Europeans

By Luigi Barzini

Simon & Schuster, 267 pp., \$14.95

whips. I saw legless veterans on crutches, *culs-de-jatte*, armless or blind veterans wearing iron crosses, and the hungry unshaven unemployed, all of them begging. I saw pimps offering anything to anybody. Where [had] all these monsters come from?

For Weimar Germany had been preceded by Bismarck's, a hive of industry and discipline, steel and drill steps; and this had been preceded by the Romantics' Germany, picturesque, pacific, medieval. And they were to be followed by Hitler's Germany, then by Adenauer's (a booming imitation of the Sunbelt), then by Brandt's and Schmidt's (all that cant, vaguely Swedish, about North-South dialogues and Berbers with beriberi). Each time, Germans told themselves and the world, they were expressing their real nature, oblivious of the last incarnation, unwitting of the next.

THE FRENCH, who act like the spoiled children of Europe, are encouraged to do so as a matter of public policy. Left to themselves, they would quarrel. Barzini quotes de Gaulle: "How can you make a country that has 265 varieties of cheeses behave as one?" Only in the face of some external force do the French pull together (and not always then). Thus the main aim of French foreign policy "is to flatter the people's high opinion of their country and prod them to accept the necessary disciplines and sacrifices."

If France and Germany may be said to embody the tensions of the modern world, Italians still experience the tensions of having been recently dragged into it. The old order of families and favors and bosses has been dethroned; the new one of contracts and rules has yet to take firm root.

A minority solved the problem by behaving as if Italy had already been transformed into an exemplary modern European nation. They were the patriots, the officers

and men who died in the wars, the stern educators, the builders of roads, bridges, and Alpine dams, the carabinieri, the inflexible judges. Without them Italy could not have survived (and could not survive today), nevertheless nobody admired and thanked them. They were and are known as *fessi*, the dolts or damned fools.

The rest—the majority—go their own way, viewing modern institutions as “obstacles, insuperable only for the timid and the weak.”

And so on and so on, through Holland, Belgium, and the United States (included on the grounds that it is an “annex” of Europe). Like any good chat, it is hard not to quote, harder to summarize. Yet here and there, a theme appears. Can these nations ever unite?

BARZINI is all for it, but he is not hopeful. The economic path to European unity—starting at the Common Market, and ending, the visionaries hoped, in a genuine transnational government—has proven to be a dead end. The emotional nourishment was not rich enough; coal pacts do not stir men’s souls. Even in economic terms, the experiment boomeranged, as the Common Market transformed itself from an association of free traders into a coalition of squabbling protectionists.

But the chief obstacle, in Barzini’s view, is the German problem. A unified Europe without Germany, he says, would be “impossible and pointless.” But Germany itself is split, and the masters of its eastern half will permit its unification only on the condition that the nation be disarmed and neutralized. In order to absorb a reunited Germany, Western Europe would have to accept these conditions as well—a concession that would be immoral, and, even in these days of creeping Finlandization, psychologically intolerable.

Barzini has got hold of something here, but he has it by the short end. For surely the German problem is only the Soviet problem writ small. The Soviets happen, by historical accident, to hold the veto over German, and European, unity. But who else but the Soviets would exercise it as the Soviets do? If East Germany were the client of, say, Britain, France, or some other normal state, who doubts that its problems could not be worked out next month—or would not have been worked out thirty years ago? The “problem” is not Germany, but the presence, in the heart of Europe, of a gang of paranoid criminals armed

with SS-20s. Which is all the more reason for the Europeans, by greater unity or by whatever other means, to summon some gumption. Which brings us back to square one. □

KGB Today: The Hidden Hand
By John Barron
Reader’s Digest Press, 489 pp., \$19.95

POISONING TRUST

JOSEPH SOBRAN

A footnote tells us: “Sometimes, Japanese beguiled by images of socialist paradise came to the consular office to apply for Soviet citizenship. Consular personnel considered these applicants insane and treated them as such.”

Well, there you have it. At home, Soviet officials treat you as a lunatic for wanting to leave; abroad, they treat you as a lunatic for wanting to come. That’s a typical John Barron detail. There aren’t many writers—not Americans, anyway—who have been so successful in conveying what Communism is like for those habituated to it.

In another incident, Stanislav Levchenko, the hero of the first half of *KGB Today: The Hidden Hand*, makes an illegal traffic turn. A cop stops him but invites a bribe. Levchenko says he has to go home to get a suitable offering. The cop agrees. When Levchenko returns as promised, the cop beams, “I knew you were honest.”

At a Moscow bar, Levchenko meets an interesting companion, a man whose job it is to doctor photos of Brezhnev and the rest of the Kremlin big shots for *Pravda*. “If we didn’t touch them up quite a bit,” the man says matter-of-factly, “people would think that the Politburo is a sanitarium for the senile.”

John Barron writes a narrative that sucks the reader in the way a vacuum cleaner sucks confetti. The story of Levchenko’s work for the KGB in Japan and his tortured defection to the United States is a masterpiece of factual storytelling. It was Levchenko’s job to get Japanese politicians and journalists to carry Soviet water, and he excelled in it. But all the while, he was yearning for the chance to bolt. He never even dared tell his wife, fearing ugly reprisals against her and their son. The reprisals came anyway.

This is *Communism*, folks. We are amazed at people who still strain to prove Hitler never murdered anyone; yet we take it for granted that enlightened people, such as those who write *New York Times* editorials, will strain to deny that the Soviets lie, cheat, drop yellow rain, shoot popes, and subvert civil order everywhere. The *Times* recently scolded Ronald Reagan for poisoning trust in the Soviet Union. Barron poisons it even more lethally.

The story is powerful, and without breaking its momentum Barron pauses to notice details that deepen its significance:

What he read only depressed him, because long ago he had mastered the art of deciphering the Soviet press. If an article lauding the work of a particular coal mine mentioned toward the end that, unfortunately, neighboring mines had yet to match the performance of the model mine, that meant there was a crisis in coal mining. If an article singled out the heroic efforts of a railroad manager to ensure maintenance of freight schedules, and noted that all other managers must emulate him, that meant that failure of the railroads to deliver coal would soon cause shortages of heat and electricity. . . . Levchenko had learned abroad that whatever the deficiencies of American society, a shortage of food was not among them. Thus, a *Pravda* article reporting widespread malnutrition and near-starvation in the United States signified to him that there were severe shortages in the Soviet Union and that the people must gird themselves for worse.

To read Barron is to be reminded in the most vivid way that the Soviet Union is not just a country with an objectionable philosophy and an abrasive foreign policy, but a huge empire drawn like a longbow against all civilization. From top to bottom it is ordered to our destruction; and this general truth, so easy to deride when stated in general terms, emerges from every detail of Barron’s reportage, all the more compellingly for the Byzantine psychological drama of the cunning but divided individual in secret rebellion. The real source of Barron’s power is the quiet sense of moral conflict he brings to cloak and dagger, his implicit decency and patriotism.

Between stories like those of Levchenko and the Canadian spy Hugh Hambleton, Barron delivers a lot of hard information about Soviet espionage in high-tech industries, Soviet monitoring of domestic American phone calls, Soviet meddling in the nuclear

freeze movement, and a roster of Soviet "diplomats" who have been expelled from foreign countries for spying. There is also an appendix describing the KGB's organization.

The chapter on the freeze movement already appeared in *Reader's Digest* (of which Barron is a senior editor), whence President Reagan got some information and a lot of liberal horselaughs. Since Barron names names (including your congressman's, perhaps) and documents carefully, it is worth reflecting on how little impact factuality has on the liberal mind. To read the general press, you would never suspect that John Barron has been writing engrossing and important books for a decade. Nobody has refuted his findings, yet few feel any obligation to come to terms with them. No wonder Susan Sontag could cause outrage by suggesting the obvious: that the *Digest* reader knows more about the reality of Communism than the *Nation* reader. The truths every *Digest* reader knows aren't *salonsfähig*. For the liberal, anti-Communism is not so much bad politics as bad taste. That accounts for the sneering, snobbish tone of the intellectuals at the *Digest* reader in the White House.

Long after the ruling cliques of today's culture are dissolved, books like Barron's will tell the truth of our time. And even today he will find an audience that matters. I suspect that future generations, looking back at us, will marvel less at the writers we neglected than at the ones we didn't. □

The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill

Visions of Glory: 1874-1932

By William Manchester

Little, Brown, 973 pp., \$25

A KIND OF TOTEM

JOE MYSAK

Only cold and timid souls or evangelists of political mediocrity could fail to be stirred by this book, the first volume of William Manchester's biography of Winston Churchill. Manchester takes as his subject the incomparable Churchill, but his theme is the decline of Victorian England from the "land of hope and glory" days of the Empire. In 1942,

RANDOM NOTES

■ SOME JULY TITLES: *The Imperial Post: The Meyers, the Grahams, and the Paper That Rules Washington* (Morrow, \$14.95), by Tom Kelley, is a rather lightweight history chiefly dependent on the often colorful, if irritating, personalities behind the newspaper, but showing the *Post* finally to be a disconcerting amalgam of distinction and tawdriness.

Bernard Schwartz's *Super Chief: Earl Warren and His Supreme Court:—A Judicial Portrait* (New York University, \$29.50) is distinctly a liberal's view of Chief Justice Warren, whom the author sees as a quintessential Middle American who came to understand the moral imperative for judicial activism. Schwartz is a professor of law at New York University.

Turgenev's Letters (Scribner's, \$30)—selected, translated, and edited by A. V.

Knowles—looks to be an excellent collection of 236 letters by a superb writer who was also a sympathetic human being. . . . Max Hayward, author of *Writers in Russia 1917-1978* (Harcourt, \$19.95)—edited and with an introduction by Patricia Blake—is, as well as a critic, a highly regarded translator of Russian literature. His book powerfully conveys his scorn for the drab, accommodative "Soviet" writers, as well as his admiration for the honest and persevering "dissidents" who continue to pursue their art against enormous odds.

Iris Murdoch's new novel is *The Philosopher's Pupil* (Viking, \$18.75), its protagonist an elderly professor of philosophy who returns to his small British hometown whose inhabitants have conceived the illusion that he has come to redeem their lives. The professor's name, significantly, is Rozanov: Murdoch, rather vainly, tosses all kinds of lines toward Dostoevsky's phantom ship, barely perceived to be hovering at some distance in the mists. —CW

Churchill said, "I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." Despite his best efforts, that is just about what he did, and that is Manchester's story.

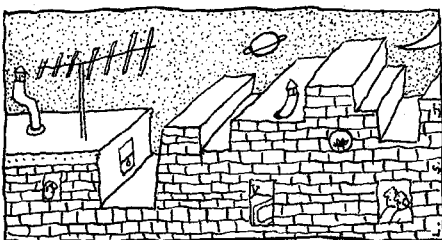
The Last Lion takes Churchill from his birth at Blenheim Palace to "the wilderness years," when he split with his party over its India policy, and when he was, to all outward appearances, in Lady Astor's catty remark to Stalin, "finished" politically. We know the rest of the story, of course; Churchill does not lack for biographers. Yet few have told the story so well. Manchester is not only master of detail, anecdote, and set-piece, but also of "the big picture."

The Last Lion is not a dirge, but has a worthy elegiac tone, chronicling as it does a kind of romantic heroism in the face of decline. Manchester says of the marvelously confident Victorians: "They believed in courage, in honor, in heroes. . . . In retrospect, they all appear to have been gallant figures in one of history's greatest Last Stands. Of course, they didn't think of it that way. It never occurred to them that they, and all they represented, would one day be dis-

owned, as the result of a national *défaillance* within the lifetime of young Lieutenant Churchill."

What they represented was the Empire, intellectually, politically, and socially. At its peak, it was the envy of, and model for, all the world. "Churchill's stature rises above that of all other statesmen," Manchester writes, "for no realm, past or present, can match the grandeur of imperial Britain at its sublime peak." The author notes that now, however, "in the heyday of liberal piety," all this "is considered disreputable, even shameful." Manchester, near the end of this first volume, admits that he does not believe the past should be judged by standards of the present; therefore you will find no snickering at fervid British patriotism or at the colonial code of absolute fearlessness. Nor will you find the author taking the Empire builders to task for racism. "Until recently," he writes, "racial intolerance was not only acceptable in polite society; it was fashionable, even assumed."

The perfect expression of the British Empire at its height came at Omdurman in the Sudan, where Churchill took part in one of the cavalry's last great charges. Churchill and the other young officers had been in training for this moment all their lives; the command to charge never had to be given. "Gallop and charge were understood," he was to write later. The bloody charge was, in fact, unnecessary; the lancers later outflanked the enemy on foot and poured in enfilading carbine fire. However,



Churchill wrote, the charge was "of perhaps as great value to the Empire as the victory itself." Untested troops had shown "those intrinsic fighting virtues without which no race can long continue to rule." The charge was part of "all the fun and glory of the game." Manchester comments that Churchill's arguments defending the engagement were "deplorable," and "irrational," but adds that they "tell much about the era and his enthusiasm for its values."

What did more to change those values than anything else was the incredible carnage of World War I, when all those young men trained at Sandhurst, as well as much of the rest of the cream of Britain's youth, died ingloriously, slaughtered in the idiocies of trench warfare—in more than one case, going over the top singing and kicking a soccer ball through no-man's land.

The terrible bloodshed of the Great War led to the rise of such lackluster politicians as Stanley Baldwin, whose voice was "of the new England: uncomfortable with greatness, wary of excellence, indifferent to challenges abroad." Churchill "as the tribune of excellence . . . was baffled by the hostility to brilliance which was, perhaps, the most striking feature of Britain's public life between the wars." He was, the author writes, "fearless, charismatic, fiercely patriotic, ready to sacrifice everything for principle." These were not qualities to endear him to his fellow pols.

IN THE postwar years, Churchill fought two particularly revealing rearguard actions, against the Bolsheviks in Russia and against policy aimed at ending the Raj in India.

As for the Red dictatorship, Manchester writes, it "outraged him. Its atrocities and pogroms were, he believed, the inevitable consequence of Marxism in action. To him they represented a new barbarism. As a conservative in the purest sense—a defender of freedom, justice, and the great achievements of the past—he saw civilization gravely endangered. Bolshevism, he said, was 'a ghoul descended from a pile of skulls.' He told the House: 'It is not a policy; it is a disease. It is not a creed; it is a pestilence.'"

Churchill referred to the rulers in Moscow as "that criminal regime," a view no doubt strengthened when the Russians used the gold and jewels of the nobility to pay for British goods.

Churchill made his final break with



the Left in the mid-1920s, after watching the Liberal Party die and Labour turn socialist. He had, in fact, never ceased being a mid-Victorian Tory, despite leaving the party in 1904 and writing various pieces of welfare legislation before the Great War.

Giving up India struck far closer to home. To yield India, Britain's most priceless possession, would be a "hideous act of self-mutilation." No Englishman, writes Manchester, "was more persuaded of Queen Victoria's wisdom in saying, 'I think it very unwise to give up what we hold.' Indeed, that summed up his attitude about the entire Empire. He considered it, among other things, a matter of national self-interest." When urged to update his views on India, Churchill replied, "I am quite satisfied with my views on India, and I don't want them disturbed by any bloody Indians." He predicted, finally, that evacuation by the British would lead to civil war. His theory was "discredited." Writes Manchester: "Eighteen years after his warning, when the Raj ended and the last British soldiers sailed from Bombay, over two million Hindus and Moslems were slain during six months of savagery." This is toned down in the film *Gandhi*, but there it is.

William Manchester is a thorough reporter, with a keen eye for fact and detail, as was shown in his books on Mencken, the Krupps, and MacArthur. He is also a superb storyteller, as was shown in his recent memoir of the war in the Pacific, *Good-bye, Darkness*. In *The Last Lion*, he manages to combine his considerable talents to produce a painterly portrait of Winston Churchill's life and times. Some critics may find his prose rather purple, but his style is entirely appropriate to his subject, and the panoramic sweep of his work; the same criticism was made, also unjustifiably, of Robert Caro's biography of Lyndon Johnson.

Manchester follows the advice of Benjamin Jowett, which meant so much to

the Victorian Empire builders: "Never retract. Never explain. Get it done and let them howl." I daresay most Americans reading *The Last Lion* will relish it immensely, for the same reason they have enjoyed recent works on Theodore Roosevelt. Malcolm Muggeridge, writing in *Esquire* in 1961, said it best when he described Churchill in his last years as "a kind of totem . . . a link with departed glory." □

Salvador

By Joan Didion

Simon & Schuster, 108 pp., \$12.95

THE LITTLE WORLD OF JOAN DIDION

GEORGE JACKSON EDER

This is a puzzling book: puzzling that so delightful a writer as Joan Didion should have considered herself qualified to write such a work when her most memorable achievements, as set forth in *Who's Who in America*, are that—fresh from Berkeley—she was awarded *Vogue's* Prix de Paris and was immediately hired by *Vogue* as an associate features editor. Following that, she achieved fame as co-author of such memorable motion pictures as *A Star Is Born* and produced four minor works of fiction. *Salvador* must be regarded as her fifth effort in that field, although written in the guise of a documentary.

Puzzling too that her sole acquaintance with that country, as she sets forth in her book, is that she and her husband made a two-week visit there, and that she employs a Salvadoran maid, who related horrendous tales of atrocities that have taken place in that strife-ridden country. And that she has read several books on the situation—written in English, of course, for her knowledge of Spanish must be elementary indeed, judging by the fact that she writes of dining with two Salvadoran artists, one of whom "spoke no English and had sat through the dinner in polite misery." It was a meeting, incidentally, that she could scarcely wait to get away from, as the artist—the English-speaking one—kept telling her things about El Salvador that ran counter to all her cherished preconceptions and that she had no wish to hear.

Miss Didion's ignorance of the Spanish language is suggested also by the title of her book, *Salvador* (*sic*), instead of El Salvador, and by her repeated references to a "General Martínez" when she means General Hernández. The late dictator's full name was Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, the last name being his mother's surname, in accordance with the custom in Spanish-speaking countries. The author bravely attempts to disguise her ignorance of the language by peppering the book with numerous Spanish words and phrases, not always correctly spelled, even where she might more easily have used the English equivalent. But it's impressive nonetheless—she must *really* know the country!

There is a further puzzle in that the author, who tries to give the impression that she has nothing but sympathy for the people of El Salvador—her heart in fact bleeds for their misery—does not disguise her contempt for the country, its history, its arts and crafts, its festivals and native dances, its religion. "I had begun before long to despise the day, the dirt, the blazing sun, the pervasive smell of rotting meat, the absence of even the most rudimentary skill in the handicrafts, . . . the brutalizing music, . . . etc." She betrays no empathy whatsoever for that poor and troubled country—nothing but disgust and contempt, treacled over with a self-righteous condemnation of the current strife and bloodshed, which she blames entirely on the present government.

But the most puzzling thing of all about this essay is that, although Miss Didion mentions the fact that there had been an election, she fails to remind the reader that hundreds of foreign correspondents, as well as representatives of the United Nations and the Organization of American States, were in El Salvador at the time for the purpose of observing the election process, officially and unofficially, and that they were able to testify that the elections were free and open, with only insignificant evidences of disorder or coercion. That the turnout of voters was exceptionally large, the precautions against double-voting rigorous, and that the voters, by an overwhelming majority, supported the present government and totally repudiated the guerrillas—Marxists, Communists, and others—who have kept El Salvador in bloody turmoil for the past five years and more, go entirely unmentioned.

Nor does she mention that the presi-

dent pro tem, placed in power by the constituent assembly chosen in that election, has promised to hold a presidential election before the end of the current year. Demands that the government "negotiate" with the guerrilla forces are about as absurd as it would be to demand that the U.S. Government "negotiate" with the Symbionese Liberation Army or the Black Panthers. In a republic, the ballot box is the only sensible form of negotiation—not mob violence, not street demonstrations, and certainly not a guerrilla movement inspired and supported by the USSR, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

The U.S. Government quite properly gives its support to the freely elected government of El Salvador, at the same time that it urges that government to do all it humanly can to uphold justice and prevent the violence of the *guerrilleros* from being replaced by the countervailing violence of the military. It's not an easy task, as I can testify from more than sixty years' experience in Latin America and, particularly, from my experience as adviser to the Marxist president of Bolivia following a revolution that left that poor country a social, economic, and political wreck. It is not easy to restore tranquillity and prosperity to a country once it has been subjected to a Marxist or Communist regime, as is evidenced too by the case of Chile. Or of Cuba.

Those who seek the facts behind the Salvadoran situation would do better to listen to the reasoned views of Dr. Jeane Jordan Kirkpatrick than to the more strident tones of Mrs. Joan Didion Dunne. A glance at their respective biographies in *Who's Who in America* will testify to their respective qualifica-

tions to comment on the situation in El Salvador or in Central America or, for that matter, anywhere else in the world.

On the other hand, those who seek a delightful and even poetical prose style, those who prefer fiction to fact, will do well to stick to Didion-Dunne, thus helping to keep her little opusculum high on the best-seller list to the greater glorification of Simon & Schuster and its conglomerate-owner, Gulf & Western. □

Single Issues

By Joseph Sobran, with an introduction by J. P. McFadden
Human Life Press, 189 pp., \$12.95

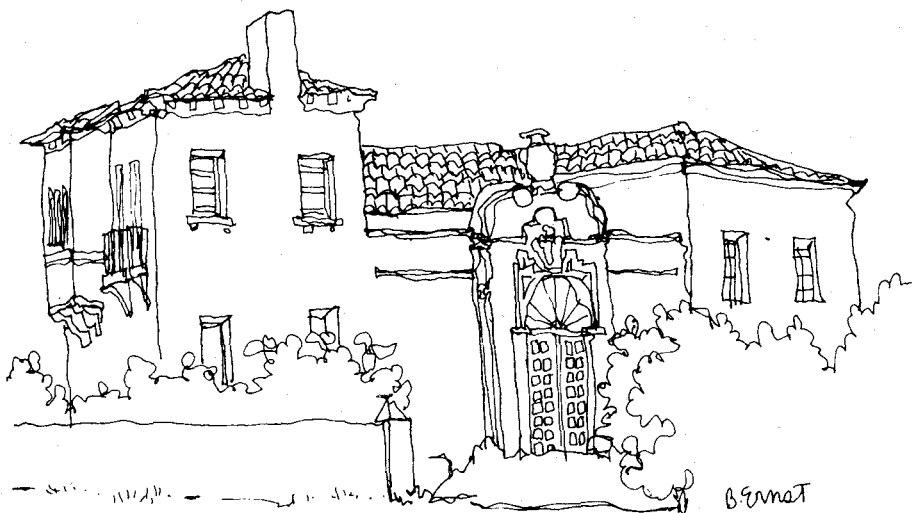
THE CIVIL ISSUE

HUGH KENNER

Joe Sobran has a rare, a nearly Johnsonian,* capacity for thought. Other columnists, other commentators, market some of them a knack for language, some of them a robust personality, some of them, a viewpoint congenial to many thousands. What Sobran has to offer is a mind in exemplary action.

Not that his attitudes or his conclusions surprise you; but he's not in the business of *personifying* an attitude, the way Michael Kinsley personifies liberal decency, Mary McGrory liberal mean-spiritedness, George Will high-toned literate skepticism, or Russell Kirk pull-up-the-drawbridge tut-tut Toryism. An attitude incarnates itself in a style, and

*No, no, not Lyndon: Samuel.



the look of analysis can turn out to be only a look: something style has simulated. (How else meet deadlines?)

But reading Sobran you're not aware of attitudes. You're aware of analytic process. Nor is it the analyst's cleverness that enthralls, but something of which reality itself proves capable: unfolding, luminescing, disclosing interconnectedness all the while a patient mind is tracing its contours. Without that fructifying sense of what is durably *so* and surpasses the immediate "issue," the best writer is but a bucks-per-thou word factory.

Consider: in addition to a newspaper column, a radio commentary, a piece in every single issue of NATIONAL REVIEW (talk about deadlines!), Sobran has been for eight years the steadiest single contributor to *The Human Life Review*, a journal with a single-issue obsession if ever there was one. And he doesn't grow weary.

The Human Life Review is anti-abortion, period. The trouble with so burningly concentrated an issue is that there seems so little to be said about it. Having quoted an unimpeachable source—"Thou shalt not kill"—you may find you've just about said all you can find to say. Or you can put the prohibition more orotundly: "What could be more barbarous than the killing of an unborn child, by the choice of its mother, through the agency of a doctor, with the blessing of the state?" Once again we seem to be at an end.

But that quoted sentence was written by Sobran. In itself, as an isolated sentence, it might have been written by any one of a dozen people I could name, and any of them would have used it for a sonorous finale, to solemnize a ritual piece of witness-bearing. We excuse busy writers for ritualizing sometimes. But in Sobran's foreword to his new book, a selection from his *Human Life Review* essays, the sentence about barbarism and killing isn't kept for the end but embedded in the second paragraph, a risky place to put anything that gives off such a sound of finality.

Is the foreword going to slump in circles then, like a dog preparing for bed? No, the foreword is like a tightened bow; that sentence manages to point past itself. Not even the word "killing" can, as you'd think it must, stun thought into terminal silence. Indeed the key word, for Sobran, is not "killing" but "barbarous." What arrests him, looking back over the decade since the Supreme

Court's 1973 rulings legalizing abortion, is that "millions of people seemed to notice nothing wrong with this."

He presses on: "We are so inured to the expanding claims of the state—even when it pretends to be conferring rights on us—that we take for granted that our officials will assume a bit more power tomorrow than today, and that unpredictable change in the very principles we live under is the natural course of things."

And here the writer courts another risk: of seeming to subsume an awesome issue into political cant: worse still, of seeming to exploit what outrage the issue can stir, by offering to the outraged a merely political recourse. (Disgusted? Vote Right.)

But no, he keeps politics exactly situated in the scheme of things. For either folk push buttons at whim—school prayer NO, busing YES, snail darters OF COURSE—or else they make political determinations *as a people*; and how, as a people, he asks, do Americans now define themselves?

"It is possible to say that God does

not exist, but it is hard to deny that churches exist." So do churches shelter only the deluded? "The very act of abortion implies something grave about the whole universe. If it is not wrong then what can be right? Do we exist in a void in which nothing matters? Is the whole sense of piety—the motive of so much important human action, in history and in our daily lives—deluded?"

Linger a moment on a rhetorical detail: "If it is not wrong then what can be right?" That may look like the overfluent writer's frequent recourse, Fowler's "elegant variation," indulged here to avoid a clanging repetition of "wrong." But no, what it illustrates is a pervasive Sobran quality, style achieving elegance in the very heat of accuracy. It says that "right" is a word without meaning unless some deeds are wrong.

So "the debate about abortion is really the kind of debate America shies away from: a debate about what man is, and about what society should be." That is why Joe Sobran can spin so many thousand readable words round a single issue. *Single Issues*—note the plural—are,

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if they are central, but the one issue rotated, facet succeeding facet, till we come to perceive it as the only civil issue there is: Who are we, that we presume to restrain one another?

So fecund is this topic that you'll not likely find, anywhere in the book, a paragraph that really repeats the substance of some other paragraph. Sobran can begin with Kenneth Tynan reviewing a performance of *Henry V*, turn to kings and kingship (not omitting to quote Don Marquis), and within a few pages be marveling at the bureaucratist mind, "... always surprised when the destruction of the traditional institutions he dislikes is accompanied by massive individual sufferings. He had thought destroying those old forms would *liberate* individuals."

And that particular essay is just getting launched. By effortless transitions, it is soon discussing marriage, and the family, and rape. ("When rape was conceived as an invasion of chastity, it was held a capital crime; now that chastity has been downgraded as a virtue . . . the gravity of rape has lessened legally," so why is it routinely judged more "traumatic" than any other physical assault?) Then parents and children, education, the ACLU, with a circle back to the "bureaucratists" who monopolize public discourse on all these themes:

Though they are glib they are not eloquent; and they have lost all touch with the eloquence of the past, the philosophy and poetry that give subtlety to perspective and flexibility to reason. They confuse a standardized impersonality of style with perfect objectivity of vision. As long as they sound like each other, they remain confident of their collective fitness to rule others. . . .

"Give subtlety to perspective and flexibility to reason": that is Johnsonian, not only in its cadence but in its sure poise amid abstractions. Abstract words are not for Sobran noises to be made at a sentence's more awkward junctions—noises like "freedom to choose" and "right of individual determination." No, they instance the mind's supreme endowment, its generalizing faculty, precious but perilous because more vulnerable to abuse than any feminist astray in any locker-room.

A model controversialist, Sobran does not hector, does not exhibit rage even when he feels outraged, and can move between two points along the briefest of straight lines. Introducing "the doctrine of the 'wanted' child," he needs

just six short sentences to arrive at "the inference . . . that if a woman wants to abort, it is in the child's interest to be aborted." That's so swift it's nearly unarguable, and, leaving you as it does to ponder the child's interest from the child's point of view, it does raise a question or two about the primacy of being "wanted."

My only regret concerns a detail of packaging, no doubt unavoidable. Though but for *The Human Life Review* and its deadlines these essays would not have been written, it's a pity the imprint of The Human Life Press will keep many from opening what they will prejudice as, in their jargonized sense, some single-issue diatribes. Abortion occupies, I'd estimate, perhaps 20 per cent of Sobran's space. Of the 15 essays, only four happen to commence with a mention of it. None anywhere argues from religious revelation, Catholic or other. It is secularism, says Sobran, that argues from revelation, and "presumes that only a faith like its own can animate opposition."

And part of secularism's faith is that the phrase "human life," except when sanctified by the buzz-phrase "quality of," can only advertise rant. Secularism claims to prefer reason, and is tireless in dredging up brand-new reasons. "We are now hearing the argument that the right to abort is somehow implicit in the First Amendment, as a free exercise of religion. Perhaps the same case could be made for human sacrifice in general. . . ." Alas, in a book not published by, oh, some outfit like Macmillan (though it should have been), I've no hope that any of the pundits whose comments on that wonderful line I yearn for will ever come across it. □

*Read All about It! The Collected
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By Sidney Zion*

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IN OUR TIME

JEFFREY HART

This book is so much fun to read that you're in danger of overlooking what a literary achievement it is. The title doesn't help either. This is not a miscellaneous collection of fugitive journalistic pieces. It is a full-scale assault upon illusion,

and it deals with matters central to our social, political, and cultural existence. Its will to demolish illusion is comparable to Ernest Hemingway's first book, *In Our Time*.

Like that early work, and for much the same reasons, this book has a very distinctive stylistic signature: a colloquial, almost continuously witty New York voice in which the internal jokes ricochet like squash balls, but never frivolously: the jokes, too, are weapons against illusion. If, as Hemingway once remarked, all that is valuable in American literature derives from *Huckleberry Finn*, what we have here is an older Huck, speaking street-wise colloquial, but equally at war with respectable evasion—in the journalistic establishment (as at the *Times*); in politics, where he eviscerates George McGovern (and writes the best recent essay on the workings of political power in America); in the world of law and criminals; and in sports, where he does a real number on Mike Burke as master illusionist who rises as his New York Yankees fall.

SIDNEY ZION grew up in Passaic, New Jersey, as a tough kid, a cousin of Lepke; went to Yale Law School and worked as a Jersey prosecutor—characteristically, with the aim of honing his skills as a defense attorney. He landed in journalism by writing an admiring parody of Murray Kempton, and now he was home at last. His real alma mater, as he announces at the beginning of this book, was collectively, "Ben Hecht, Charles MacArthur, H. L. Mencken, Damon Runyon, Ring Lardner, Dorothy Parker, Red Smith, Jimmy Cannon, John McNulty, A. J. Liebling, and other such worthies.

Zion then arrived at the *New York Post*. We have gone too long in this review without sampling his style, for, in all writing, there is a sense in which the style is everything: "The city room of the *Post* was a portrait in grime, its windows smoked up like a leftover speak-easy, its walls a backdrop for dustbins, the desks gouty as an old sailor. Right out of Ben Hecht's typewriter, and the typewriters of the set of *The Front Page*. I fell in love with the joint straight-away."

Now Zion is not a Jewish Damon Runyon or Ring Lardner because he knows so much more about so many more things than they did. He knows about politics in a thorough and analytical way, he knows about law and the

Constitution, he knows about music in a detailed way, and his concluding essay, "Outlasting Rock," is a mini-masterpiece of cultural history, sociology, and knowledge of the music business. He practically had to use a Leopard tank to get it into the *New York Times Magazine*.

NEVERTHELESS, with Runyon, Lardner, and Winchell in mind, this book might also have been called *Jewish Gangsters I Have Loved*. Zion does not love them for their murders and other abuses, but because in their own social environment they were free men and masters, and, above all, realists: Meyer Lansky, Izzy Schawarzberg, Mickey Cohen, Dutch Schultz, Waxey Gordon. . . . In a moment of high literary perception Zion puts his case:

Babel was one of the few authors in modern history to write about Jewish outlaws. Diaspora literature from Sholom Aleichem's *Tevya* to Bellow's *Dangling Man* to Roth's dangling dingus, portrays the Jew as Chosen Victim, sainted fool, back-bent and nose-hooked into the noble needlework of the Great Plight. "The virtue of powerlessness, the power of helplessness, the company of the dispossessed, the sanctity of the insulted and the injured"—these are the "great themes" of the literature as celebrated by none other than Irving Howe. Where, against the music of such fiddlers on the gallows, is there a tune left for the Jewish gangster? Yet this was not Babel's Odessa at the turn of the century, just as it was not Meyer Lansky's Lower East Side circa 1917. Not altogether, anyway.

Zion is genuinely and validly outraged that much of his Jewish-gangster material could not be published in the major journals because of the pressure of respectability. He should have remembered that Gertrude Stein told Hemingway that "Up in Michigan" could never be published because of its explicit description of sex between Nick Adams and an Indian girl.

Again, we have gone too long without the refreshment of Zion's style. He begins a short piece on Elizabeth Ray, who did in Representative Wayne Hays, by recalling an anecdote about Abe Reles, a Jewish informer: "No sooner did Abe Reles, that premier gossip of the first half of the twentieth century, go out the window of the Half Moon Hotel in Coney Island, than one of his old troopers in Murder, Inc., raised the wineglass with this classic: 'To a great

canary who could sing only he couldn't fly!'"

Zion uses his legal knowledge and common-sense realism to write brilliant short essays on the Patty Hearst and Allan Bakke cases. In the first, he finds the operative fact to be that she was kidnapped. On Bakke, he thinks that the Supreme Court almost went over the cliff:

So, while press coverage of the decision has achieved overkill, the most extraordinary point about it has been ignored: Only one justice on the Supreme Court found unconstitutional the racial-quota system employed by the University of California in their admissions policy at Davis Medi-



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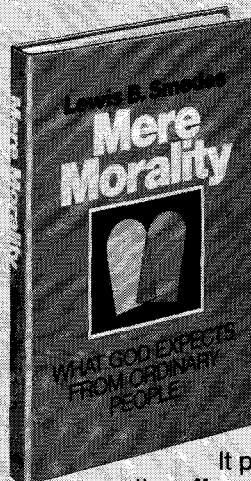
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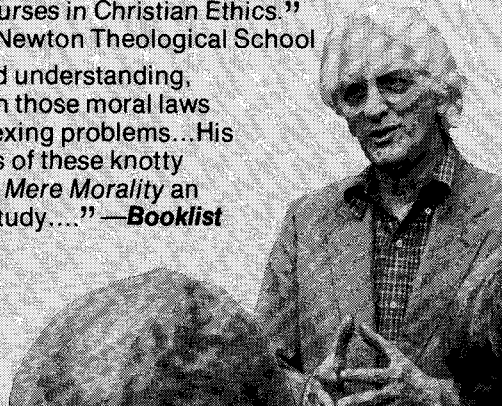
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cal School. This was not merely unpredictable. It was off the boards. . . . Had the Court excluded Bakke from medical school, Congress would have moved swiftly to amend the Civil Rights Act to make crystal clear that quota systems are illegal—certainly in cases where there is no proof of discrimination.

The pervasive villain of Zion's book is group-think, the corporate mentality that goes along to get along and substitutes malleability and charm for truth and results, and he has an important point to make about all this. That mentality is pervasive—in government, in journalism, in sports, in the corporations themselves. It is summed up for Zion in Michael Burke, who turned the Yankees into losers for CBS and has turned the Knicks basketball team into losers for Gulf & Western.

In contrast to Burke, Zion's "Jewish gangster" in sports is Charlie Finley:

The other side of Charlie Finley, the thing that distinguishes him from his peers, is that all he asks of his employees is excellence. If you can hit .300, if you win twenty games, you can hold press conferences every day and denounce old Charlie to your heart's content. . . . Do you have any idea how long journalists would read their bylines if they said of their editors a scintilla of the things Reggie Jackson says daily of Charlie Finley? Not only would they disappear from their paper, they'd disappear from journalism.

Sidney Zion is not a "maverick" reporter. He is a great reporter. □

FILM

THE LEWIS TAPES

H. N. KELLEY

Bob O'Donnell is a man who believes in putting his money where his heart is. He sank five years and vast quantities of his own money into producing a documentary film on the life of C. S. Lewis, entitled *Through Joy and Beyond*, simply, he says, "to help get people interested in reading Lewis." To increase his potential audience, he has now put out a one-hour abridgment of the film on broadcast-width tape as well as in cassette for video recorders (Lord & King Associates, Box 68, Winfield, Ill. 60190). He has also published a leather-



bound limited edition of *The Screwtape Letters* with original four-color illustrations.

Lewis possesses a universal appeal that makes his books virtually indestructible. Twenty years after his death and 64 years after the publication of his first book, a volume of poetry, he continues to be "discovered" by new readers and new groups as though his books were being published for the first time. Courses on Lewis are being taught in colleges, there are study groups in churches, and some bookstores specialize in books by and about Lewis. I have no access to comparative statistics but I would suppose that there are more Lewis books sold, year after year, than any other combination of a half dozen writers on religious subjects.

For years Lewis, although a layman, was the accepted voice of orthodox Anglicanism, but he fell out of favor with his own Church (including U.S. Episcopalians) as clerics followed such as Pike and Altizer into agnostic and leftward thickets. As his Church began to relinquish him, he began to achieve cult status among the evangelicals. (Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, has the largest collection of Lewisiana that exists anywhere.) Today, for whatever it may indicate about the changing of wind directions inside the Church, Anglican approval seems to be flooding back in the sales of perennial *Screwtape*, *Mere Christianity*, and the *Narnia* allegories, which are being snatched from the children for adult microscope study and analysis—something that Lewis himself advised against.

O'Donnell's film is no effort of an enthusiastic amateur. He is a producer of commercial films, and he has brought all his professional expertise and the facilities of a very large crew to what is essentially a private enterprise. *Through Joy and Beyond* is a delight to look at, from the hills of Belfast, scene of Lewis's

boyhood, to the towers of the BBC, shown to dramatize Lewis's broadcasts. It is all stitched together with a tight script by the Reverend Walter Hooper, who himself serves as narrator, with Peter Ustinov's as the voice of Lewis.

Father Hooper, of course, knows Lewis as no one else possibly could. He was his secretary, lived with him, attended the famous Inkling meetings with him, talked endlessly with Lewis as he reminisced in his final days, and then as executor of the estate, edited Lewis's books, continued his correspondence, collected, sorted, and edited letters. He has also written biographies and numerous introductions to new editions of the Lewis standards. He rewrote one biography in terms of pictures for the book, also called *Through Joy and Beyond*, which was a dividend made from the hundreds of photographs collected for the film.

HOOPER'S SCRIPT for the film translates the biography in yet another way for a different medium. It is a bare-bones narration of Lewis's life, but a very considerable emotion is packed into it by use of quotations from Lewis's books, especially his autobiography, *Surprised by Joy*. These quotations are read by Ustinov, whose voice is surprisingly like that of Lewis, as we know it from his tapes of the *Four Loves* broadcasts.

Hooper tells of the origin of the film:

It began in the summer of 1977. I was working on the legends for *They Stand Together*, the book of the Greeves letters on which I had been working for years. I was also tied up with the making of *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* film and things were very complex and I was very tired.

Bob O'Donnell knew me because he had bought several things from the Lewis estate, and he asked what I thought about the possibility of buying the option on one of Lewis's books to make a film of it. I suggested—really more as an excuse to avoid getting involved in another complex project—I said, "Instead, why don't you just make a documentary of Lewis's life?" He said, "I'll be back in five minutes with an answer," and I thought no, no, no. Not five minutes. Take five weeks or five months or something. But he rang back in five minutes and said yes, he would.

I had just one free day between delivering *They Stand Together* to our agents and starting work on the film for which, at that point, there wasn't even a script. The problem was, it was July and we had to go ahead and shoot some particularly difficult scenes at Oxford. It took a triple crew to light Magdalene College and we worked until

THE RIGHT BOOKS

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY "problem" is actually one of those non-problems that make up most of contemporary politics, itself largely an arena for middle-class people lacking the strong back necessary for useful physical labor and the talent requisite for genuine intellectual activity, but with too much education, meddlesomeness, and self-esteem to open a hardware store or go fishing. True, the government, under the aegis of the FICA, deducts an outrageous sum of money from every paycheck, which it proceeds promptly to waste; but waste, after all and political philosophy to the contrary, is the sole function of government, its only trick, the thing it knows best. It is the penalty we moderns must pay for having created the highest civilization in human history, but it is certainly not worth the fretting of men with the option of otherwise employing their intellects—in reading the novels of Faulkner, say, or going bird-hunting.

For those who simply must masticate such dry bones, however, there is an interesting booklet available in the Heritage Foundation's Critical Issues series, entitled *Social Security Reform: The Family Plan* (The Heritage Foundation, 513 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, \$3), by Peter J. Ferrara. Ferrara believes that the Social Security system suffers from the radical flaw of contradictoriness—"an inherent conflict in the program's objectives"; the simultaneous pursuit of welfare and insurance. Separate the two functions, Ferrara argues, entrust them to two separate and distinct institutions, and you are well on your way toward lasting reform.

Ferrara's plan is not theoretically original, but it is practical and efficiently set out according to stages of implementation, starting in 1986 and concluding in 2004; at which time the new system in its totality would be emplaced. The welfare function would be administered by a descendant of the present Supplemental Security Income Program, "more carefully adapted to fulfill the needs of the elderly poor." The insurance function would be handled by "private sec-

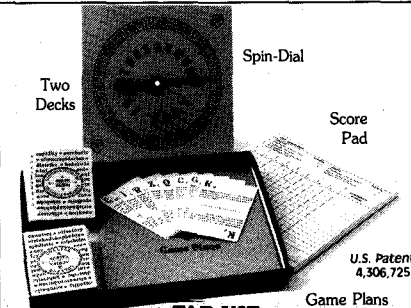
tor alternatives to Social Security," such as an

updated and expanded version of Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs). These savings and the returns they earn would then be used to finance each worker's retirement benefits. Individuals could also be allowed to purchase life, disability, and old-age health insurance through their IRAs so that these accounts would provide all the insurance benefits currently provided by Social Security. These changes could be phased in over many years to ensure that they did not place an unmanageable financing burden on the Federal Government.

Noting that both liberals and conservatives feel the Social Security pinch—even liberals are beginning to question the wisdom of their old panacea of financing Social Security from general revenues; conservatives dare not abolish the system altogether; neither liberals nor conservatives can expect to get away with increasing the payroll bite—Ferrara suggests that this plan offers much for both. He also believes that it will appeal to the current generation of the elderly, who will lose none of their promised benefits; to future generations, who stand to reap far greater benefits than any before them; to labor unions, who will find assurance in a plan that actually works; to businessmen, who will appreciate a vital stimulus to the national economy; even to politicians, who care for nothing more than to get the monkey off their backs.

FERRARA also notes that recent opinion polls show that by almost 2 to 1 Americans favor making participation in Social Security voluntary, and that by a still larger margin they consider private pension alternatives more dependable than the Social Security system.

I am tempted to carry Ferrara's plan a step further. Why not place *all* the indigent elderly under the general welfare system, and present every American, upon attaining his majority, with the option of signing a voucher releasing the government from *all* financial obligation for him in his senior years? □



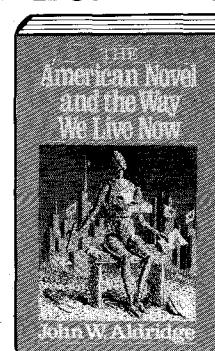
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midnight. The boys in the choir sang some of the anthems I asked for as many as five times! They were wonderful.

The film opens with the hills of Belfast and with Little Lea, Lewis's boyhood home, but this was the last part to be filmed and Hooper, O'Donnell, and crew arrived almost too late. Little Lea was empty in preparation for renovating and modernizing, and his cousin's home nearby was being sold, together with the furnishings. However both the renovation and the sale were held up so that furniture from the cousin's house could be moved to Little Lea for the filming. All the furniture was as familiar to Lewis as was the furnishings of his own home.

Last fall Hooper contracted to appear in the United States on tour with the film in its original, full length. The tour took him to twenty American cities and to mostly evangelical audiences. His function was to appear on stage after the screening and answer questions. To his surprise, he found few questions had to do with Lewis's life, writings, or beliefs, but centered on his justification for Lewis's smoking habits (his best-known photographs all show him surrounded by a cloud of smoke from his pipe) and his drinking habits (it's a question whether he loved tea or beer the more). □

The GIMLET EYE

JOURNAL OF A PLAGUE YEAR

D. KEITH MANO

It is the time for disease. Men and women *germinate*, rich as wet loaves hatching mold in a dark place. Any handshake can fester. Simple kisses are a lush culture medium to breed rot in. (Throw out your dead.) Love has become a period of incubation: they use contraceptives to kill different, smaller offspring now. In intimacy people question each other and fear. We are open petri dishes: just our touching is some kind of doubtful contagion.

I'm at a theater party. The beautiful 19-year-old dancer has just crossed one leg over. Instinctively, though I've never seen the symptom before, I know

she has genital herpes. There is a round, half-inch-wide lump above her left knee. In it are eight or ten red, measles spots. Later, when we pass casually along a corridor, I say, "Andrea, do you realize, uh, that you have herpes?" Her look could raze me. I'm a space case. She has had sexual contact with just one man in the last year, how can it be? Andrea's innocence is clear as corneal stuff. I'm embarrassed. I wish my face were on very erasable bond and would come off right there.

Yet, next day, Andrea calls to apologize and thank. That afternoon her doctor confirmed my spot diagnosis. At 19 Andrea has genital herpes and will have it for the rest of her life. But so what? Let me lance that public boil here—poison sumac or acne is a lot worse than herpes, *Time* magazine sensationalism notwithstanding. Syphilis and gonorrhea are far more serious, but (no doubt because both can be cured) they don't provide such exciting copy. Herpes II is, well, no more than a cold sore (herpes I) in the wrong place. One year has gone by since I first saw Andrea: the lesion cleared up after a week and hasn't come back—in 30 per cent of the cases it never will. If it should, Andrea must be careful not to transmit the virus through venereal contact: but herpes is absolutely un-infectious when dormant. Maybe 50 million people in America have I or II, and humankind has dealt with it at least since Tiberius made kissing illegal to halt a cold-sore plague. One goal-oriented mosquito can cause you about the same distress.

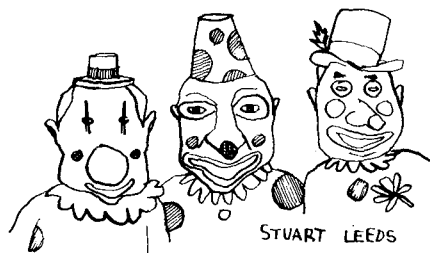
That isn't true of AIDS. As I type this, 1,352 are dead from it, 595 in New York. With Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome we confront one of the great pathological enigmas. First, it isn't, so to speak, a disease at all—it is diseases. And it will probably never be cured. When the human immune system has broken down, certain rare and fatal disorders (Kaposi's sarcoma, *pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia) develop. This is, in one sense, the ultimate malady: not sick-

ness, but a contagious absence of health.

And much inexpedient passion has discolored the prognosis. Three out of four victims are male and homosexual. In our social round (my wife is an actress) it would seem that almost everyone has lost one friend, two. The wasting can be swift and inexorable: like a sock emptied suddenly. Moreover gays perceive, I suspect with justification, that there has been healthier-than-thou righteous gloating around America. As if God were inclined to express his sexual preference microbiologically. Some gays, in turn, are packing paranoid heat: they blame Jerry Falwell or the CIA. This politicization of misfortune is, I think, contemptible and dangerous. No one, eventually, will be immune to AIDS.

I WOULD GUESS that the syndrome is brought on by a sex-borne, maybe tropical virus. (One researcher has linked it to African Swine Fever—prevalent in Haiti. Heterosexual Haitians are quite susceptible.) Because the gay population is, in effect, an enormous forcing bed—intimate dalliance with one hundred to two hundred different men per year may occur—AIDS has found particular communion there. But any plague will function so: in some urban circumstance, around close human commerce. The Black Death also would have frequented a gay bathhouse. But too many atypical cases are breaking out now. A non-gay sanitation worker last week. In Western Europe this week, six heterosexual men from Chad and Zaire. Moreover, the syndrome, it would appear, can be spread through, hum, normal channels as well. No doubt, so a recent gathering of more than 17,000 gay people in Madison Square Garden was told, promiscuousness will give aid to the enemy (and AIDS to the friend). Containment, at present, is indicated: baths should be shut down for a while. But it is no more helpful to censure gay men, than it would be to censure New York men because half of the incidence was registered there.

In return I'd expect a more amenable—or, anyway, a less sullen—attitude from certain gay media spokesmen. *Village Voice* columnist Arthur Bell, for instance, is absolutely *resentful* about AIDS. (Bell, I admit, had often reminded me of something that'd belong better in the Smithsonian Insect Zoo.) AIDS doesn't disturb him so much because it can be life-annulling, but because, big huff, it is *unfair*. An inconvenience to



his gay *modus vivendi*. "In the 1970s we were told that gay liberation was feeling good, having sex with many partners, imaginatively, lovingly—and the hell with monogamy because man isn't meant to be true to one man . . . If you ask me, the new gay-sex-death morality is immoral." Absorb that splendid peevishness. AIDS and, in passing, death are immoral because they might circumscribe his dogmatic promiscuity. If that were possible, Bell would picket against the syndrome and get a court injunction to disallow it. But it isn't possible. And Bell is grouchy as a New York taxi driver with no one to cut off. Then, all petulance, he will go on, "But the bottom line is, practice it [restraint] and you live. Stray from it and you take your chances."

If, God forbid, Bell should succumb to the syndrome, don't grieve for him. He will have died for a principle. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

NIGHT VISION: *Confessions of Gil Lewis, Private Eye*, by John Sedgwick (Simon & Schuster, 174 pp., \$12.95). "You hear a lot

about the wisecracking private eye," says Boston detective Gil Lewis, "but that's a load of crap. When people come to see me they're *really down*. There's nothing funny about them. These people are *victims*. A baggy-eyed, cigar-chomping telephone virtuoso so sure of himself that he handles missing-persons cases on a contingency basis, Lewis has a costly habit of *sticking* his wealthy, divorce-hungry clients with \$500-a-day fees while "forgetting" to send the bill to anxious parents looking for a runaway. (One shy teenager hired Lewis to find her long-lost father. He delivered on schedule, tore up the bill, hired the girl as a typist, and finally put her through college.) John Sedgwick, the author of *Night Vision*, is weak on stylish prose but decidedly strong on telling detail. Mr. Lewis and his amanuensis are anxious to dispel the widely held notion that *real* private eyes are anything like the ones you read about in books. Indeed, the first chapter of *Night Vision* is called "To Hell with Sam Spade." It doesn't wash, though; Gil Lewis sounds exactly like something out of a better-than-average Ross Macdonald novel. Only the cigar rings false.

TERRY TEACHOUT

BEYOND THE NUCLEAR FREEZE, by Robert F. Drinan, SJ (Seabury, 160 pp., \$7.95). The nuclear-freeze movement seeks an alternative to the perpetual paranoia of Mu-

tually Assured Destruction, hence, one would think, peace literature should seek to dispel fear, work for a stable international milieu, and clarify the arcane and terrifying nuclear formula for the public. But it doesn't, and Father Drinan's book is no exception. Using hyperbolic and hysterical language, it seeks not to illuminate but to frighten people to take to the streets crying "Freeze!" Father Drinan applies a double-standard throughout: while the United States' motives for armament are selfishness, imperialism, and an "irrational cold-war mentality," the Soviet build-up is attributed to an understandable "age-old Russian dread of invasion" and "deep fears that the U.S. wants to deprive [the Soviets] of their security and even their status as a superpower." The book also insists that unilateral disarmament by the Russians is "not impossible." Father Drinan has visions of a groundswell of support for disarmament by "diverse ethnic groups" in the Soviet Union; he says it is possible that "the Kremlin, in order to stay in office, must produce more food and consumer goods for the public," for which it would "sacrifice some part of the military and that part [would be] its nuclear weaponry." This book bolsters the argument of those who argue that priests should not comment on this-worldly subjects.

DINESH D'SOUZA

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Queen Margaret

On The Right

New York, June 10—The joy should not be confined to Great Britain, if there is joy to be got from the exercise, by a plurality, of mature political sense. The reverberations of Mrs. Thatcher's victory will be heard in great and small echo chambers up and down the chanceries of Europe and the United States. What happened on Thursday is by no means of parochial interest.

You remember Anthony Wedgwood Benn, the Viscount Stansgate? He is the highly educated gentleman who was in the forefront of the left-wing of the Labour Party. Over the years he did a kind of aristocratic striptease, in his effort to achieve an adamite austerity. First he dropped the title. Then he dropped Wedgwood. Then he shortened his Christian name—he was no longer Anthony, just plain Tony. Somewhere along the line I remarked that his march toward proletarianization left him only the elimination of the second "n" in his surname. Well, on Thursday, the voters took Tony Benn's seat away from him, after 33 years.

Oh, how certain the dashing Benn was that socialism was the way of the future for England.

Q. "It is widely predicted that in the next few years there might be three parties of which yours—or what's left of yours—would be a kind of left-split, a trade-union party, devoted to the repristination of socialism. Is this a fair analysis of the trend in British politics?"

I was in London, on television, exchanging views with Mr. Benn. It was September 1980. The leader of the Left forces of the Labour Party replied: "The Labour Party will never split, and it won't split because it is held together by its commitment to seek to represent the interests of working people, so that all these predictions about its splitting are wholly false. I feel absolutely confident about that."

He was then asked whether the hard left turn of the Labour Party might not reduce its constituency, even as membership in the trade unions had recently diminished. He replied: "The Labour Party is a socialist party, it always has been, and its socialism has been renewed. The fall in membership occurred at a time when the Labour Party was swinging sharply to the right. The biggest votes we've ever had is

when we had the most radical programs—1945, 1964, 1973."

Although the Labour Party has more seats than the Alliance, and retains enclaves of power here and there in Great Britain, two great mandates have been given by the voters, and they have to do with unemployment, and with sovereignty.

UNEMPLOYMENT in Great Britain is at 13 per cent, a frighteningly high figure. But how does one define frightening, without a context? Although the word "unemployed" has not changed its formal meaning in the past generation, it has greatly changed its substantive meaning. To be unemployed in Great Britain continues to be a severe hardship. But its severity is of the spirit more than of the pocket-book. In England people do not starve or lack for lodging or for medical attention if they are out of work. Accordingly, the voters are not moved by exclusive consideration of the one datum: How many people are unemployed?

The alternatives offered by Labour were, in effect, to put all unemployed workers on the payroll of the government. The effect of this would have been to isolate Great Britain economically; because a nation that solves its economic problems by internalizing its economic policies does so by means of inflation, and serfdom. The road to serfdom was being paved by the program of the Labour Party. The voters said they would rather endure un-

employment, and a gradual economic recovery, than surrender to the inflationists, pull out of the Common Market, and sink like Albania into an autarchic isolationism.

And then, at a critical moment in European history, the British voters resolved that they would not progressively surrender their independence to the Soviet Union by unilaterally disarming. Mrs. Thatcher's decisive movements in the Falkland Islands captured a spirit in England thought to be flagging. The same spirit that was captured by Winston Churchill. And, while we are at it, the same spirit that was captured by Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth I with whom, with all justice, Margaret Thatcher is being compared. □

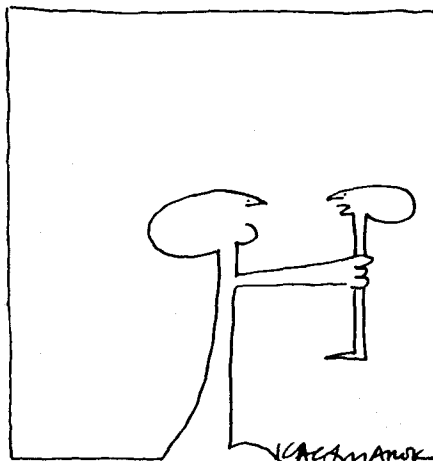
IS MORRIS ABRAM A RACIST

New York, June 10

—You noticed, of course, the reaction to Mr. Reagan's appointments to the Civil Rights Commission? Outrage. "Let's face it," one person interviewed on network television said, "President Reagan just doesn't care about minority rights."

You would think, writes Nathan Perlmutter, the director of the Anti-Defamation League, that "the President nominated the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan." Yes, there has been a reaction to the reactors. The Anti-Defamation League has lashed out at the protesters, as has Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. The most prominent of the three men nominated by Mr. Reagan is Morris Abram. Among other things, Mr. Abram has served as president of the American Jewish Committee.

So what do the gentlemen here have in common? They are all three political liberals, and they are all three Jewish. And whom are the protesters against Mr. Reagan's choices primarily addressing? Black voters. It flared up during the late Sixties and again in fights over the administration of New York City schools in the Seventies. Moreover, you can usually tell whether the advocate is for or against. If "against," they call it "quotas." If "for," they call it "affirmative action." Is there a difference between the two? That depends. Affirma-



"IT'S VERY FLATTERING TO BE SOUGHT AFTER BUT MORE PROVIDENT TO SEEK."

tive action, translated into educational policy, means that a college has more black students than it would have if normal admission standards applied. Some colleges that practice affirmative action also have quotas, though the challenge this time around is to fill a quota, rather than to restrict to a quota. A conversation in a cloistered college admissions office today would sound like this: "Dammit, we've got to find enough blacks to fill our quota of 13 per cent." A couple of generations ago, the cloistered college admissions office would sound like this: "Dammit, we've got to hold the Jewish admission down to our quota of 13 per cent."

Non-black non-Jews can (and many do) take a disinterested position on the controversy, and say, quite simply, that whatever you call it, it is wrong—you must not, out of an anxiety to help one minority, activate a policy that ends by penalizing someone who has white skin. A third position (my own) favors affirmative action, but only by private institutions. No public institution has a right to discriminate against someone because he is white. Private institutions should be free to shoulder, as they will, the additional burden of helping people who need help.

So that what it comes down to is that Jewish opposition to the quota system has not only the obvious moral base, but is also self-interested. You do not need to go any further than to a student directory at Harvard or Berkeley to ratify what you intuited, namely that Jewish students are unusually well qualified as a class, compared to any other group of students. And you need not travel far to confirm what you also intuit, namely that black students tend to be below the average in educational attainment.

THIS IS not an inquiry into why this should be so. It is merely a recognition that it is so, and that the fight between the Morris Abrams and the Jesse Jacksons is only at the rhetorical level a fight about minority "rights." It is also a fight, in the case of Morris Abram, by someone who has fought throughout his lifetime for civil rights for blacks, and for their advancement, but is not about to endorse public policies whose effect is to deprive well-qualified Jewish students of their leverage on higher education.

How will it end? The Atlanta hot-dog vendor who wanted black patronage was delighted when the Civil Rights Acts were passed, forbidding commercial Jim Crow. So would political liberals in Congress be delighted if the courts were to step in and forbid affirmative action. Because there is steady polarization on the subject, as the storm around Reagan's appointees makes clear. There is simply no way the Jesse Jacksons of this world can maintain their credibility by suggesting that Morris Ab-

ram is opposed to civil rights. You might as well say that the Statue is opposed to Liberty.

Why did Reagan appoint the three men who, though liberals, are opposed to affirmative action? Because Mr. Reagan's view of quotas is the same as that of the Anti-Defamation League and the former president of the American Jewish Congress, and the president of the American Federation of Teachers. One of these days the Supreme Court is going to have to get around its equivocation, as in the Allan Bakke case. They will have to rule on the question whether the injunction to color-blindness in public policy is to survive. □

CIA MANEUVERS

New York, June 8—

HEADLINE: "CASEY ASKS
PANEL: WHO SAID 'THE

CIA LIES?'" William Casey, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, can be a very cool cat, but occasionally his Irish is dandered, and the other day it was. A member of a congressional committee was anonymously quoted in the *New York Times* as saying, apparently with resignation, "The CIA lies to us anyway." This drew from Director Casey a communication that is scorching, by the standards deemed governing in exchanges between executive agencies and congressional committees. What Mr. Casey wrote, one-half gut-anger, one-half euphuism, was: "While I have less than complete confidence in the accuracy of press reporting, that comment has offended our entire organization and impugns the integrity of our fine employees. In obligation to them I feel that I must pursue its accuracy. The possibility that any committee member harbors the thought that the CIA lies to the committee is so appalling that I feel obliged to determine if any member of the committee actually feels that way and, if so, to seek the particulars. The confidence between the agency and the committee essential to make the oversight process work requires that any such impression be addressed."

A few years ago, George Kennan was quoted as saying he did not believe the CIA ought to engage in any covert operations. Taxed as to exactly why he thought this, he answered that it was simply not possible, in a political democracy, for an agency to keep secrets, and that under the circumstances one had to weigh the value of covert activity against the embarrassment of public exposure of that activity. He concluded that the latter exceeded the former; and that therefore, there should be no covert activity. To which Machiavelli might add: There should be no covert activity if there is any reasonable possibility that it will be exposed. That is to say something

a little bit different from what Mr. Kennan was saying, but that difference is vital.

In the past seven or eight years I have written five spy novels in the course of which I have attempted to conjugate a theme. Not a mysterious theme, but not one that is entirely easy to expound. It is this: that the counter-espionage discipline is sometimes the transaction not of a law, but rather of an art. I mean by this that there is written into the inexplicit mandate of an intelligence organization an ambivalence that simply can't be wrung out by the conventional processes that go into the codification of most of a free society's laws.

LET US TAKE a hypothetical situation. Our CIA agents in Uganda smell something big. Very big. An atom bomb. Never mind for the moment how Idi Amin got an atom bomb. What in the name of God does he propose to do with it? Well, he intends, exactly three hours from now, to dispatch a plane from his little air force and drop the bomb over Jerusalem, in retaliation against the Israelis' Entebbe raid. Idi Amin is scheduled to go to the air base personally to wave off the bomber on a mission that will mean the extermination of an entire city and not inconceivably the beginning of a third world war. The mission could be aborted by a sniper who, properly situated, can end the career of this madman before his bomber takes off.

But isn't assassination wrong?

Yes, assassination is wrong. But can't one say that assassination is wrong, but that there are worse things than assassinations? Like death for a quarter million people, and perhaps a war?

Yes, one can say that.

Question: Is there machinery that can act on such a moral calculus?

Answer: Depends. Depends on the in-built resiliency of the appropriate mechanisms.

Sir. Are you saying that the CIA is entitled to lie to a congressional committee?

No, I am not. I am saying that there are worse things imaginable than the CIA lying to a congressional committee.

Do you doubt that Mr. Casey is telling the truth when he insists that the CIA does not lie to congressional committees?

No, I am not saying anything of the sort.

What then are you saying?

I am saying that circumstances hypothetically exist in which the director of the CIA would need to choose between a) lying or b) exposing a deed the exposure of which runs a risk of collapsing a vital organ of a free society, and that the prudent way of steering clear of such schematic collision courses is for both parties to just cool it; just don't talk about it; just let it go. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

- A. "I [have] not seen the _____ forsaken," —Psalm 37:25 (King James)
 B. College where Ronald Reagan learned about Archimedes
 C. A self-evident truth
 D. George started this type of progression
 E. Posture
 F. "Can there any good thing come out of _____?" —John 1:46 (King James)
 G. Strikingly attractive
 H. These are worse than do-gooders
 I. Author of the *Anabasis*
 J. A CABLE RIG (anagram)
 K. "Some mute inglorious _____ here may rest."
 L. A skilled trade whose members make house calls
 M. COLIC IRE (anagram)
 N. Tried to equal or excel

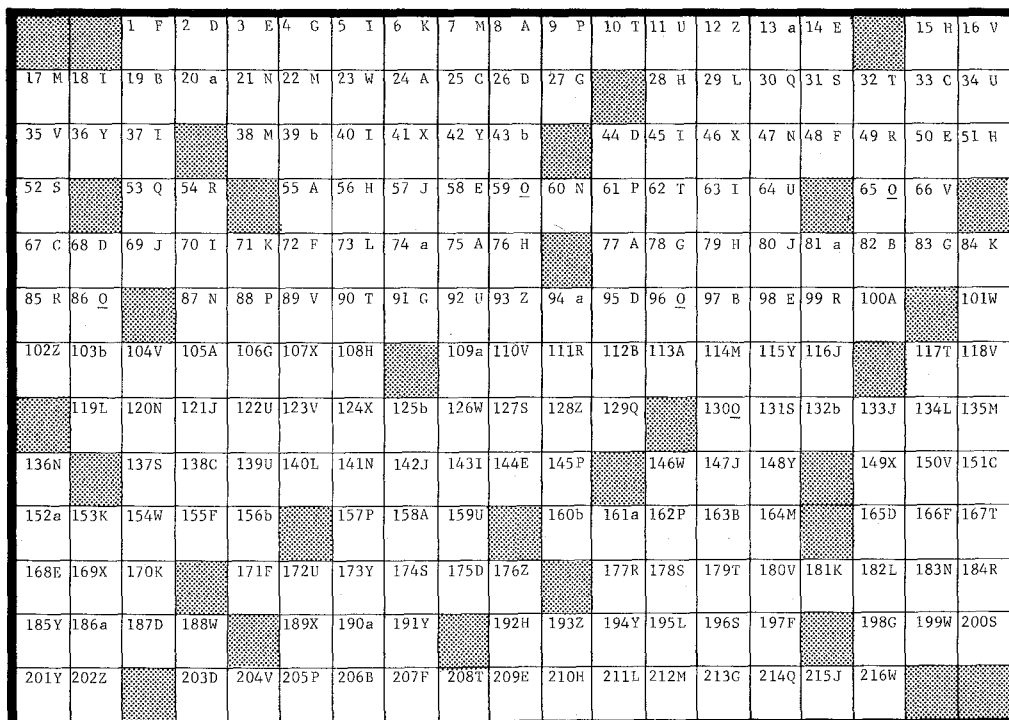
8 77 100 158 24 55 105 75 113
 19 112 206 82 97 163
 33 151 25 138 67
 44 68 26 95 187 165 175 203 2
 58 3 209 98 50 168 14 144
 72 1 155 207 48 197 171 166
 91 213 198 27 78 4 83 106
 108 192 28 76 79 15 51 210 56
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 140 134 211 119 195 182 29 73
 164 38 212 7 22 114 17 135
 183 136 120 141 60 21 47 87

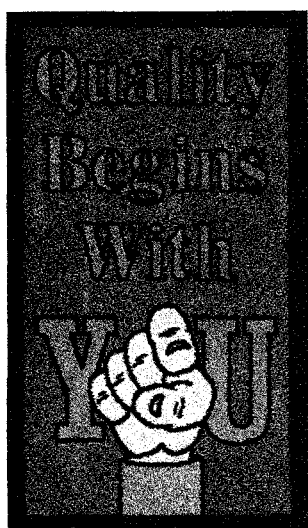
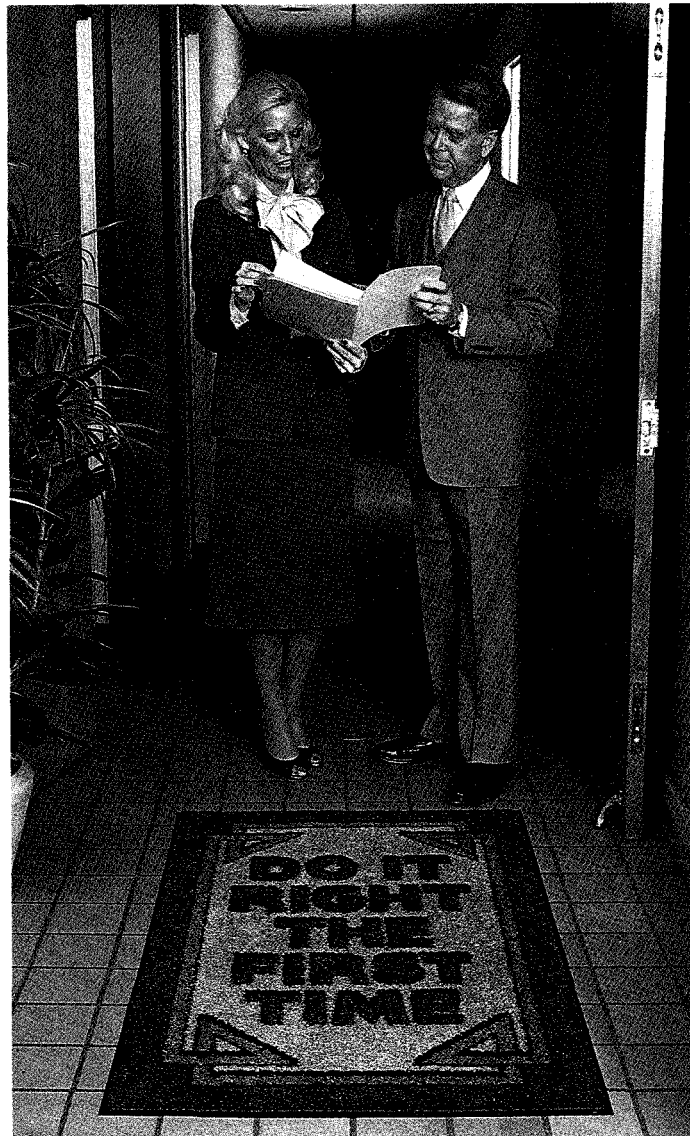
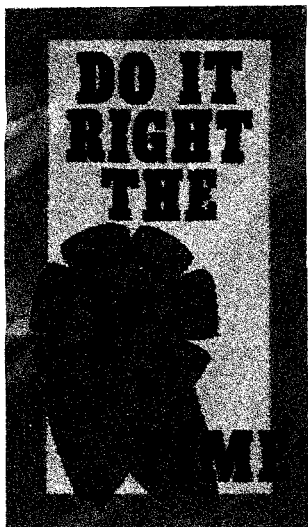
- O. Jewels
 P. A proper test of who should survive?
 Q. A pro-National Socialist group during the late Thirties
 R. Mysterious
 S. A highway obstruction (sounds like a highway lobby)
 T. What many a manuscript undergoes
 U. An unguent
 V. One-word description that fits Hoover, Nixon, or Reagan
 W. Deliverance
 X. A college graduate
 Y. A suburb of Buffalo, N.Y.
 Z. Any of several issues of a daily newspaper
 a. Becoming rigid
 b. Escape

65 130 96 59 86
 205 9 61 162 88 145 157
 53 214 30 129
 85 184 111 49 99 177 54
 131 31 174 52 200 196 178 137 127
 167 10 32 62 208 90 117 179
 172 92 11 34 139 159 64 122
 89 180 104 35 66 110 16 118 123 150
 204
 199 154 188 101 23 126 146 216
 189 124 107 149 46 41 169
 42 36 115 185 173 194 148 191 201
 128 176 102 12 193 93 202
 20 186 161 74 109 13 94 152 190 81
 156 160 103 43 125 132 39

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. See page 838 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.





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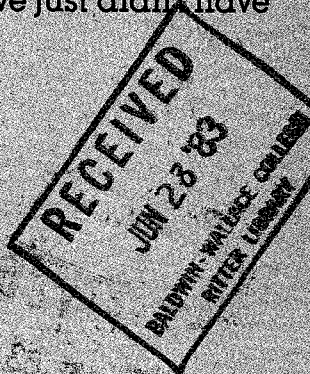


"It's as if Mother Nature had stocked up on some of her best oil, and hidden it so deep and so carefully that nobody would ever get at it," says Jim Hooks, General Manager of Exploration for Gulf's Rocky Mountain District. "There's a tremendous amount of oil in the Overthrust Belt area. But when we first went in there in the early 70's, we missed a lot because we just didn't have

the techniques to locate it.

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"It'll take a lot of money and time and talent, and some very innovative approaches to exploration. But there's a lot of energy down there in the earth, and a lot of energy up top in the Gulf people working on the job. And if everything goes according to plan, that ought to produce a lot of energy for tomorrow."



**Gulf people:
energy for tomorrow.**

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OVER 100,000 ACRES
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